War and Memory

Artistic and cultural representations of individual, collective and national memories in twentieth-century Europe at war

International conference
7th September – 9th September 2012
Warsaw

Jointly organised by
the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences
and the War and Memory Research Group at Queen’s University Belfast

20th Anniversary of the Graduate School for Social Research at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences
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Programme

Apart from the plenary sessions and a few panel sessions, papers will normally be of 20 minutes duration. Minor changes may subsequently be necessary.

Friday 7th September 2012

9.00 – 9.30  Registration at the Polish Academy of Sciences, Nowy Świat 72
9.30 – 9.55  Olivier Messiaen, ‘Quartet for the end of time’ (parts 2–5)
9.55 – 10.15  Opening by Professor Michał Kleiber, the President of the Polish Academy of Sciences and welcome addresses
10.15 – 11.30  Keynote address: Jay Winter (Yale Univ.) ‘From Silent Film to filmic silence: representation of war in 20th-century Europe’ (Mirror Hall)
11.30 – 11.45  Coffee
11.45 – 13.15  Panel sessions

1. VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF WAR (Room 242)

Alternative cinematographic interpretations
Chair: Ewa Hauser

Eva Bru-Dominguez (Univ. of Birmingham), ‘Repressed Memories and Desires: the monstrous Other in Agustí Villaronga’s Pa negre (2010)’
Jarmo Valkola (Tallinn Univ.), ‘War and audiovisual memory in the films of Péter Forgács’
Bill Kidd (Univ. of Stirling), ‘Lacombe Lucien – Lucien Lacombe: mirror image or broken mirror? Fictions and memories revisited’
Kate Vigurs (Univ. of Leeds), ‘Celluloid Memorials – post-war depictions of women Special Operations Executive F section agents on film’

2. NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHIES (Mirror Hall)

Commemorating war (1)
Chair: Jozef Niznik

Harold Goldberg (Univ. of South Sewanee), ‘Reconstructing D-Day Memory: how contemporary politics made Germans victims of the war’
Markku Kangaspuro (Univ. of Helsinki), ‘The Victory Day in History Politics’
Małgorzata Karczewska (University of Białystok), Cuius region, eius memoria. First World War memorials on the territory of former East Prussia.

3. REWRITING HISTORY THROUGH FICTION (Room 200)

French literary connections
Chair: Manuel Bragança

Margaret Attack (Univ. of Leeds), ‘Resistance and the politics of memory’
France Grenaudier-Klijn (Massey Univ.), ‘Street names in Patrick Modiano’s Second World War novels – unconcealing the Occupation’
Nicole Thatcher (Univ. of Westminster), ‘Charlotte Delbo and Marie Chaix: Variance of World War II French Memories’

4. TRANSCULTURAL MEMORY IN THE 20TH C. (Room 154)

The Great War In Europe and Beyond
Chair: Jay Winter
Patrick Houlihan (Univ. of Chicago), ‘“Stabat mater dolorosa”: Catholic transnational memories of WWI in Central Europe’
Anne Samson (Independent scholar), ‘The development of memory in Europe(ans) of the East Africa campaign of WWI’
Marzena Sokolowska (Warsaw Univ.), ‘Re-imagining the Great War in the Grand-Historical Narrative’

13.15 – 14.30 Lunch
14.30 – 16.00 Panel sessions

1. VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF WAR (Room 242)

Visual media identity-building
Chair: Jarmo Walkola
Satka, Fjoralba (‘Aleksandër Moisiu’ University, Durrës, Albania), ‘Individual artistic memory and present-day awareness of the war’
Malgorzata Pakier (Warsaw School of SSH), ‘Jews, women, ordinary people… The supporting characters in Polish “memory cinema” before and after 1989’
Elli Lemonidou (Univ. of Western Greece), ‘World War II and the Greek Civil War in Cinema’

2. NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHIES (Mirror Hall)

Commemorating war (2)
Chair: Harold Goldberg
Andrzej Szpocinski (PAN), ‘The Past in Polish public discourse’
Ilse Raaijmakers (Maastricht Univ.), ‘National commemorations and counterculture in Dutch cultural memory of WW2’
Judy Brown (Cambridge Univ.), ‘Performing Cultural Memory: 9 May Victory Day celebrations in Sevastopol, Crimea’.

3. REWRITING HISTORY THROUGH FICTION (Room 200)

Fiction on Britain and the Commonwealth
Chair: Jacek Wisniewski
Emma Grundy Haigh (Univ. of London), ‘Waiting for the Past: Reinventing Britain’s War Experience’
Angela Thurstance (Univ. of Leicester), ‘Memory and survivor guilt in Pat Barker’s Another world and Elaine di Rollo’s Bleakly Hall’
Martin Loeschnigg (Univ. of Graz), “Lest we forget”: remembering WWI in contemporary Anglo-Canadian fiction’
4. TRANSCULTURAL MEMORY IN THE 20TH C. (Room 154)

Remembering the Spanish Civil War (1)
Chair: William Kidd

Wojciech Opiola (Opole Univ.), ‘Your war, our remembrance – Polish disputes concerning the Spanish Civil War’
Eva Nieto McAvoy (Birkbeck, Univ. of London), ‘Reading the Spanish Civil War: Arturo Barea, the British Left and Spanish cultural memory’
Chiara Tedaldi (UCD), ‘Remembering the “right” victims? The impact of the Ley de memoria Histórica on the interpretations of Spain’s past featured in El País and El Mundo’

16.00 – 16.15 Coffee
16.15 – 17.45 Panel sessions

1. VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF WAR (Room 242)

The Art of war (1)
Chair: Monica Bohm-Duchen

Caroline Perret (Univ. of Westminster), ‘Confronting history: Jean Dubuffet’s Tableaux et Dessins Exhibition (Oct.- Nov. 1944)’
Christine McCauley (Univ. of Westminster), ‘The Tip of the iceberg’
Claudia Siebrecht (Univ. of Sussex), ‘The Female Mourner: Women’s identities and women’s art in WWI Germany’

2. NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHIES (Mirror Hall)

Sites of memory (1)
Chair: Bertram Gordon

Joanna Lusek & Albrecht Goetze (Central Museum of POWs, Lambinowice & Meetingpoint Music Messiaen) ‘Coincidentia Oppositorum or Music as a key to memory’
Petra Svoljsak (Univ. of Nova Gorica), ‘The Slovenian historiography and collective memory of WWI’
Katja Skrlj (Univ. of Nova Gorica), ‘Sites of memory, site of mourning or landmarks: the case of the WWI memory on the border of Slovenia and Italy’
Werner Suppanz (Univ. of Graz), ‘Between representation and oblivion. WWI in Austrian war monuments and memorial sites since 1918’

3. REWRITING HISTORY THROUGH FICTION (Room 200)

Remembering the Spanish Civil War (2)
Chair: Martin Hurcombe

Marije Hristova (CSIC, Madrid), ‘Borrowed memory: a reading of Antonio Muñoz Molina’s Sefarad’
Eloise McInerney (TCD), ‘What about the moderates? Recovering the memory of the “third Spain” in Antonio Muñoz Molina’s La noche de los tiempos (2009)’
4. TRANSCULTURAL MEMORY IN THE 20TH CENTURY (Room 154)

**Writing after WW2** (1)
Chair: Nikolai Vukov

- **Molleen Shilliday** (UBC), ‘Writing in the Wake: the language of trauma in contemporary French war novels’
- **Nanette Norris** (RMC, St-Jean, Quebec), ‘Diasporic identity construction: the life-writing of a WW2 German veteran in Canada’
- **Marko Pajevic** (QUB), ‘Arno Schmidt and the abyss of National Socialism: the end of romanticism’

18.00  Reception and dinner hosted by the Graduate School for Social Research at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences – PAN Club, Staszic Palace top floor

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**Saturday 8th September 2012**

9.30 – 11.00  Panel sessions

1. **VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF WAR** (Room 242)

**The Art of war** (2)
Chair: Christine McCauley

- **Pnina Rosenberg** (JVAC, Haifa), ‘From mice to Mickey to Maus: the metamorphosis of the mice/mouse in Holocaust art’
- **Monica Bohm-Duchen** (Univ. of London), ‘Creativity against all the Odds: Art and Internment during World War II’
- **Selena Daly** (Manchester Met. Univ.), ‘Representing the borderlands: Italian Futurists and Trentino (1914-16)’

2. **NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHIES** (Mirror Hall)

**The Sociology of war**
Chair: Markku Kangaspuro

- **Richard Grayson** (Goldsmiths, Univ. of London), ‘Myth and the Battle of Messines: building a new memory of Ireland’s Great War’
- **Urszula Jarecka** (PAN), War tourism in Germany and Poland’
- **Joanna Wawrzyniak** (Univ. of Warsaw), ‘WW2, story-telling and agency in the public sphere of Communist and post-Communist Poland’
3. **REWRITING HISTORY THROUGH FICTION** (Room 200)

*France and Portugal remember WWI*

**Chair:** Alison Fell

- **Silvia Correia** (Univ. Nova de Lisboa), ‘Monuments: the precarious face of the myth. Politics of the memory of WWI in Portugal’
- **Martin Hurcombe** (Univ. of Bristol), ‘French Crime Fiction and WWI’
- **Christina Theodosiou** (Sorbonne), ‘The representations of 1918 armistice and Armistice Day in French literature and popular theatre (1919-39)’

4. **TRANSCULTURAL MEMORY IN THE 20TH CENTURY** (Room 154)

*Memories of survivors*

**Chair:** Gavin Bowd

- **Nikolai Vukov** (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences), ‘The War Experience as a “recent past”: WW2 in memoirs and witness testimonies in Bulgaria of the 1940s and 1950s’
- **Andrea Peto** (CEU, Budapest), ‘“Theaters of Justice and Narration”: testimonies about the transitional justice after WW2 in Europe’

11.00 – 11.15 Coffee
11.15 – 12.45 Panel sessions

1. **VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF WAR** (Room 242)

**Objectifying memory** (Room 242)

**Chair:** Richard Grayson

- **Julia Winckler** (Univ. of Brighton), ‘War, memory and photographic traces’
- **Karen Shelby** (City Univ. of New York), ‘History, memory or propaganda: the Great War, the martyred soldier and 21st-century Flemish politics’
- **Alison Fell** (Univ. of Leeds) & **Emmanuel Debruyne** (Univ. catholique de Louvain) ‘Model Martyrs? Remembering WWI Resistance heroines in Belgium and France’
- **Kirrily Freeman** (St Mary’s Univ., Halifax, Canada), ‘Silence and Memory: the lost bells of Europe’

2. **NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHIES** (Mirror Hall)

*Colonial and Post-colonial myths*

**Chair:** Andrzej Szpociński

- **Patrice Yengo** (EHESS, Paris), ‘Representing Charles de Gaulle in post-WW2 France-Afrique: the figurines and cult of “Ngol” in the colonial imaginary’
- **Simon Lewis** (Univ. of Cambridge), ‘Breaking an ideological mould: the re-imagining of the Soviet partisan in post-independence Belarus’
3. **REWRITING HISTORY THROUGH FICTION** (Room 200)

*Rewriting WWI in film, fiction and poetry*

**Chair:** Martin Löschnigg

- **Helena Duffy** (Wroczław Univ.), ‘The Jew as St Christopher. The Holocaust and the Soviet Jews’ Participation in the War Effort in the Œuvre of Andreï Makine’
- **Jacek Wisniewski** (Univ. of Warsaw), ‘“What will they do when I am gone?”: Great War poets’ elegies on their own death’
- **Nancy Sloan Goldberg** (Middle Tennessee State Univ.), ‘The Aryan on the Cutting-Room Floor: American Cinematic Reconstruction of German Ideology in The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse’

4. **TRANSCULTURAL MEMORY IN THE 20TH CENTURY** (Room 154)

*European Exiles in WW2 Britain*

**Chair:** Joanna Wawrzyniak

- **Christophe Declercq** (Imperial College, London), ‘From gallant guests to wonderful bother: Belgian refugees in Britain during WWI and a meaningful identity’
- **Jana Buresova** (IGRS, London), ‘From a far-off country: some aspects of Czechoslovak cultural life in Britain during WW2’

12.45 – 14.00 Lunch
14.00 – 15.30 Panel sessions

1. **VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF WAR** (Room 242)

*Visual Variations on war and genocide*

**Chair:** Pnina Rosenberg

- **Tatiana Astrouskaya** (Polotsk State Univ.), ‘Visual Representation of WW2 in Belarussian history textbooks’
- **Helen Beale** (Univ. of Stirling), ‘Resonant commemoration: time and memory echoes in 20th-century French war memorials which bear plaques on walls, rocks or boulders’
- **Ewa Hauser** (Rochester & OSA UW), ‘Nationalization of memory: Wajda’s Warsaw uprisings’

2. **NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHIES** (Mirror Hall)

*War museology*

**Chair:** Renata Piątkowska

- **Sonia Zhuravlyova** (IGRS, Univ. of London), ‘Emotional architecture at the Museum of Genocide Victims in Vilnius, Lithuania’
- **Annabelle Winograd** (Dartmouth College, US), ‘Embodied memory: setting and showing in WWI front-line museology, Hill 62, Ieper, Belgium’
- **Laura Brandon** (Canadian War Museum, Ottawa), ‘Unfinished business: what does Canada’s most important WWI painting tell us about conflict, art and memory?’
3. **REWRITING HISTORY THROUGH FICTION** (Room 200)

*European Memories In Fiction*

Chair: Marko Pajevic

- **Hanna Trubicka** (A. Mickiewicz Univ.), 'The mythology of war in *The Salt of the Earth* by Joseph Wittlin'
- **Gavin Bowd** (Univ. of St Andrews), 'Living in delirium: Marin Preda and Romanian remembrance of WW2'
- **Antoinette McNamara** (Univ. of Limerick), 'Rewriting the past in Marcel Beyer’s *Flughunde* – but to what end ?'

4. **TRANSCULTURAL MEMORY IN THE 20TH CENTURY** (Room 154)

*The Body and WWI*

Chair: Timothy Ashplant

- **Joel Morley** (QMUL), 'Passed from father to son: the transmission of Great War narratives in Britain, 1918 to 1945'
- **Martina Salvante** (TCD), 'What posthumous memory of war disablement ? Some reflections on war, remembrance and disability as seen from Italy in the aftermath of the Great War'
- **Marjorie Gehrhardt** (Univ. of Exeter), 'The destiny and representation of facially-injured soldiers in the interwar period'

15.30 – 19.00 Warsaw site-seeing by bus and visit to Museum of the Warsaw Uprising
20.00 Dinner – Harenda Club Garden, Krakowskie Przedmiescie 4/6

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**Sunday 9th September 2012**

9.30 – 10.30 Plenary lecture: **Barbara Szacka**, 'Memory of War and Sex Differences' (Mirror Hall)
10.30 – 10.45 Coffee
10.45 – 12.15 Panel sessions

1. **VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF WAR** (Room 242)

*Visualising genocide*

Chair: Martyn Cornick

- **Renata Piatkowska** (Museum of the History of Polish Jews), 'Shoah in the works by Marek Oberländer'
- **Karina Dilanian-Pinkowicz** (PAN), 'Visualizing the Armenian Genocide'
2. NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHIES (Mirror Hall)

**Gendered war** (1), (Mirror Hall)
Chair: Andrea Peto

**Timothy Ashplant** (L’pool J. Moores Univ.), ‘Goodbye to all That? Remaking the (masculine) self in Post-WWI Britain’

**Kasper Krejberg** (Aarhus Univ.), ‘Out of the combat zone, into the body: modern war literature from Ernst Jünger’s *Storm of Steel* (1920) to W. G. Sebald’s *Austerlitz* (2001)’

**Nancy Martin** (Univ. of Oxford), ‘It’s MEN We Want’: Representations of Masculinity, Subjectivity and Soldiering in First World War Writing

**Declan O’Reilly** (UEA), ‘Constructing Heroines; the George Cross and Women SOE Agents 1942-1950.’

**Social functions of memory** (Room 158)
Chair: Gregory Herman

**Claudia Marques-Martin** (Univ. of Aberdeen), ‘Reconstructing identity through memory’

**Peter Baker** (Texas A&M Univ.), ‘Violence as memory and on memory: institutionalising and historicizing memories in post-war Guatemala’

**Malgorzata Włoszycka** (Univ. of Southampton), ‘Representation of the memory of Jews in the physical space as an element of Polish identity. A case study of a town in southern Poland’

3. REWRITING HISTORY THROUGH FICTION (Room 200)

**Languages of commemoration**
Chair: Urszula Jarecka

**Zuzanna Bogumil** (ASE, Warsaw), ‘Stone, cross and mask: what do Gulag monuments commemorate in Russia?’

**Vicky Davis** (UCL), ‘Memory for sale: local and national interpretations of Brezhnev’s “Malaia zemlia”’

4. TRANSCULTURAL MEMORY IN THE 20TH CENTURY (Room 154)

**Reassessing WW2 France**
Chair: Christopher Lloyd

**Bertram Gordon** (Mills College, CA), ‘“Defensive architecture” and WW2 memory: the Maginot Line’

**Lindsey Dodd** (University of Huddersfield), ‘Black hole or memory comet? The Allied bombing of France (1940-45) as vivid but neglected experience’

**Martyn Cornick** (Univ. of Birmingham), ‘A Writer at the Front Line: Armand Petitjean and Jean Paulhan’s *Nouvelle Revue francaise*, 1939-1940.’

12.15 – 13.30 Lunch
13.30 – 15.00 Panel sessions
1. VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF WAR (Room 242)

‘The camera never lies’: photographic representations of war
Chair: Julia Winckler

Peter Neill (UU), ‘Re-imaging and modern memory of the Great War’
Kathryn Brown (Tilburg Univ.), ‘Remembering the Occupation: Pierre Jahan and Jean Cocteau’.

2. NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHIES (Mirror Hall)

WW2 – a French obsession?
Chair: Margaret Atack

Christopher Lloyd (University of Durham), ‘Soldiers’ tales: defeat, imprisonment and combat in World War Two France’
Katherine Cardin (Univ. of Pennsylvania), ‘Legacies of French WW2 collaboration: a multi-generational study’
Manuel Braganca (Nottingham Trent University), ‘The French and WW2: the end of the obsession?’

3. REWRITING HISTORY THROUGH FICTION (Room 200)

Displacements
Chair: Nanette Norris

Magda Potok (A. Mickiewicz Univ.), ‘The “postmemory” writers in Spain: the third generation and the Spanish Civil War’.
Gregory Herman (Univ. of Aberdeen), ‘Jorge Semprún and the truth of fiction’
Judyta Wachowska (A. Mickiewicz Univ.), ‘Women prisoners and their children in literary and film representations of the Spanish Civil War and the postwar regime’

4. TRANSCULTURAL MEMORY IN THE 20TH CENTURY (Room 154)

Gendered war (2)
Chair: Nancy Martin

Marco Mondini (ISIG-FBK Trento), ‘A still noble war: collective memory in the Italian narrative of war (1915-60)’
Mary Chaktsiris (Queen’s University, Ontario), ‘Extending the “invitation to manliness”: manhood, empire, and the Great War in Canada, 1914-19’.

15.00 – 15.30 Concluding Plenary Session starting with „Behold”, a poem by Nicki Jackowska read by the author.
15.30 – 17.30 Excursion to the Kampinoska Forest (Palmiry - war-memory site)
Ashplant, Timothy (Liverpool John Moores University, UK) ‘Goodbye to All That? Re-making the (Masculine) Self in Post-First World War Britain’

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This paper will use Robert Graves’s memoir *Goodbye to All That* (1929) – one of a cluster of such war memoirs published in Britain a decade after the war’s end (including those of Blunden, Sassoon, Brittain) – as the starting point for an exploration of efforts by writers and intellectuals to remake the self in the light of their experiences during the First World War. Graves’s book both declares his determination to rid himself of the Britain in which he was brought up, and enacts – in both its narrative, and its formal construction – the immense difficulty of any easy settling of terms with the past. My reading of the text will engage with two recent debates: that concerning the representativeness or otherwise of what has become an apparently canonical body of British “anti-war” literature (poetry, prose fiction, memoir) produced by the First World War (Winter, 1995; Sheffield, 2001; Bond, 2002); and that concerning the refashioning of masculinity in response to the war’s mechanised assault on male bodies and minds (Bourke, 1996; Roper, 2005).

*Goodbye to All That*, which – like some of Sassoon’s poems – draws heavily on the comic forms of the farce and music hall, has been claimed as one of the templates for much later satirical anti-war productions (including *Oh, What a Lovely War!* and *Blackadder Goes Forth*) which have helped create a negative contemporary British “received memory” of the war. I will argue, however, that comparison with the memoirs of a private soldier making similar use of the music-hall genre (G. Hewins, *The Dillen*) suggests that its comic form serves a serious purpose: to express gendered traumas which can only be approached obliquely. Drawing on my previous work on the politics of war memory (Ashplant, Dawson & Roper, 2000), and on the fracturing of socio-political identities under the impact of war (Ashplant, 2007), I will situate Graves’s text among diverse efforts to shape post-1918 British war memories, encompassing anger and despair as well as mourning, pride and reconciliation.

Astrouskaya, Tatsiana (Polotsk State University), ‘Visual Representation of World War Two in Belarusian history textbooks’

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This paper aims to describe the specificity of visual representation of the Second World War in Belarusian history textbooks. It will focus on the images used to elucidate the period of the War but also on their correlation with textual interpretation.
Concerning the content of educational materials, the Belarusian situation is rather peculiar: throughout 20 years of independence, history textbooks were radically rewritten at least three times. It is clear that the process of nation-building and national memory construction in Belarus is still in progress. In this regard the image of World War II is representative because it is the most important place of memory today.

It is possible to define three main images of WWII, according to the pictures available in textbooks. The first image is based on the acceptance of negative effects of the War (the pictures of suffering people are presented). The second image is founded on the dichotomy of Good and Evil, conquerors and aggressors, heroism and suffering. The third – performs WWII mainly through the idea of liberation and the victory of the Belarusian people (the maps with the description of successful battles, modern pictures of memorials are shown).

As a result, the image of WWII (presented mainly as the Great Patriotic War) differs significantly depending on the time and political context of its appearance, but many important themes such as the negative role of Stalin and its milieu, collaborationism, the Holocaust are still absent in visual materials as well as in texts.

Atack, Margaret (University of Leeds), ‘Resistance and the politics of memory’

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Résistantialisme was the term coined in 1948 to define a widespread criticism, that some people were using resistance credentials – often very shaky ones – to further their own career at the expense of others. In 1987 Henry Rousso forged a new term, résistancialisme, which, while clearly nodding to its predecessor, had the significantly different meaning of resistance myth, whereby reference to or portrayal of the resistance implicitly stands for the whole nation. The importance of both terms to critical writing on Resistance literature underlines the extent to which the Resistance has been a point of debate and controversy as well as commemoration throughout the postwar period, from the arguments of the liberation and épuration, the ceremony for Jean Moulin in the Pantheon, the ‘affaire Aubrac’; to President Sarkozy’s mobilisation of Guy Môme’s letter in 2007 and the extraordinary success of Stéphane Hessel’s Indignez-vous in 2010.

The aim of this paper is to reconsider résistantialisme historically, as represented in novels and other writings of the 1940s such as Uranus (Aymé), Les Forêts de la nuit (Cur-tis), Résistantialisme (Bonnamy) and Les Crimes masqués du résistantialisme (Desgranges), and to take that as a point of departure for the exploration of the memory of the Resistance across a range of novels by Curtis, Daeninckx, Gary, Hyvernaud and others.
Baker, Peter (Texas A&M University), 'Violence as Memory and on Memory: Institutionalizing and Historicizing Memories in Postwar Guatemala'

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In his 2009 testimonial novel *El material humano*, Guatemalan writer Rodrigo Rey Rosa explores the impossibility of narrating the violence of the events of the Guatemalan Civil War. It is a work about a novelist’s research in the Guatemalan archives in an attempt to find inspiration for his latest novel, in which the mysterious disappearing archives reflect the author’s real experience in dealing with the testimonies. The purpose of this analysis is to comment on the way in which a compilation of testimonies are institutionalized and historicized as part of the project for transitional justice in Guatemala. The work of subaltern studies has shown that the narration of history is complicit with the abstractions of the capitalist economy and its ruling class; the bourgeois. We shall pose ourselves the question of whether what is at stake in this recuperation is then more a question of establishing a nation unified under a historical narrative which is compatible with the neoliberal ideas of progress than a project for social justice. We shall also ask whether the process of ordering and compiling testimonies in the name of social justice in fact creates sites of subalternity. At the same time, we will argue that there is a certain cultural production within Central America that may help us to challenge our way of thinking transitional politics. Understanding the operation of this narration and the political uses that it is put to may help us to think of a transitional politics that is not limited to the traditional Western epistemologies and may open spaces for subaltern mobility.

Barton, Holly (University of Reading, UK), ‘Representing war on the Western Front in 1916: Transitions between media in the *Illustrated London News*’ [WITHDRAWN]

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Well established in the market of pictorial journalism by the outbreak of the First World War, the *Illustrated London News* held imagery at the forefront of the reporting and dissemination of news. This illustrated newspaper provided a pictorial narrative of news that enabled their readers to buy into an understanding of the war and their position in relation to that conflict. Less a substitute to daily newspapers, and more an additional source of reporting designed to be read and collected as documentation of the war, this publication played a role in constructing memories of the conflict as it took place.

While engaging with both the style and language of traditional war imagery, the *Illustrated London News* embraced new media technologies of capturing and reproducing images. These modern media fascinated readers and changed notions and expectations of visual representations of war. I will focus on the transitions between media in
this journal: how comparisons in photography, film and illustration raise questions about the authenticity of reporting and the manipulation of press imagery during wartime.

Taking examples of these different media used to represent war on the Western Front in 1916, this paper will explore how visual media drew the public into the spectacle of war, and consider the varying uses of press imagery as propaganda. This suggests that the values and meanings of war images in this publication functioned both as reflections of contemporary perceptions of war, and as sources that shaped attitudes towards the conflict. My paper will argue that the Illustrated London News gave their readers visual representations that formed part of the public experience, and influenced the collective memory of the First World War.

**Beale, Helen (University of Stirling), ‘Resonant commemoration: time and memory echoes in 20th-century French war memorials which bear plaques on walls, rocks or boulders’.

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Seminal to this paper are revolutionary images and commemorative practices reverberating again in the twentieth-century.

In the Affiche révolutionnaire, 1792, the writing is certainly on the wall for Louis XVI: an anonymous hand completes the poster with ‘your days are numbered’. My associated research for this paper, on ‘generational walls’ and wall-writing for protest, rallying calls and public information, is indebted to The Wall and the City (2009, by European sociologists for the University of Trento).

In 1943, on the anniversary of the Battle of Valmy (20 September 1792, when France’s new armies defeated the Prussian forces, thus ensuring their survival and that of the French Revolution), the Front national launched a bonnet rouge poster. It called on the French to resist the STO (forced labour draft to Germany) and instead to join Resistance patriots, worthy of the sans-culottes of Valmy’. I analyse similar ways in which First World War and Resistance memorials insert contemporary soldiers and struggles into the continuity of French history.

Time frames merge through memory in Ernest Pichio’s painting La Veuve du fusillé, 1877 (Musée de Montreuil). A widow and children covertly place a wreath beside the Mur des Fédérés, Paris. Their communard husband/father was shot there in 1871. That past event in chronological time disrupted their lives; its ever-present memory plunged them into the continuous psychological time [duree] of mourning. The paper asks why survivors of the concentration camps returning to Paris made pilgrimages to that same wall.

Overall, the significance of a variety of Resistance memorials incorporating walls, rocks, or boulders is analysed, including simple memorials to people outside the Resistance movement who gave the maquis crucial practical support.
The mythological figure of Icarus, daring, glamorous and doomed was often evoked in relation to the image of Royal Air Force pilots, and particularly the fighter pilot, during the Second World War. The comparison with Icarus was first made early in the First World War and, not at all coincidentally, in connection with the figure of the fighter ‘ace’ – the pilot who was a dedicated killer of other pilots, simultaneously ruthless and chivalrous, a supremely modern warrior but also a ‘knight of the air’ who equally harked back to memories of a medieval chivalry which rarely existed in historical actuality.

My paper will focus on the image of the RAF fighter pilot as hero, masculine role model, celebrity and as ‘the acceptable face of killing’in portraits commissioned during the Second World War by the War Artists Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Information from a number of leading British portraitists such as: William Rothenstein; Cuthbert Orde; Eric Kennington; William Dring; Cecil Beaton and Laura Knight. Comment will be offered on the extent to which such imagery was disseminated and marketed to the British Home Front and to neutral nations utilising public relations techniques derived from the promotion of First World War and record-breaking inter-war aviators by the all-embracing Hollywood publicity machine.

With regard to the themes of the Conference, the paper will explore and analyse the extent to which the image of the fighter pilot created in art and in text by some of the war artists – namely Rothenstein, Orde, Kennington and Beaton – harks back to past models of British martial masculinity such as: Crusader Knights; Elizabethan buccaneers; the Ironsides of Cromwell’s New Model Army plus the soldiers who served in the armies of Dukes of Marlborough and Wellington. The past models evoked can also be related to the paradox of how to celebrate, within a Liberal Parliamentary state, men who break the ultimate peacetime taboo of taking life – indeed who prove themselves to be accomplished and even enthusiastic killers of the enemy in aerial combat. In this regard, British perceptions of Polish and Czech fighter pilots serving with the RAF, offer intriguing insights into wartime preconceptions concerning national identity at a time of crisis.

If time permits comment will also be offered as to how texts created by RAF fighter aces such as Richard Hillary (1942); David Crook (1942); Athol Forbes (1942); Pierre Clostermann (1951) and Jim Bailey (1964) continue to structure and shape the popular memory of the Second World War fighter ace to the current day.
In the age of flourishing commemoration practices the simplicity and minimalism of the Gulag memorials as well as a practical lack of secular and coherent commemoration language of the Gulag past, seems significant. Especially, since the Gulag, as the common heritage of the East-West past, has the potential to be the subject of a new memory language. Moreover, at the end of the 1980s, in the light of the political and social changes, the theme of Soviet repressions became widely discussed, it has a great influence also on the perception of the heroic deeds of the war, and there were plans to erect the memorials to the victims of Soviet repressions in many parts of the former Soviet Union.

However, most of the memorials and monuments dedicated to the Gulag memory which one may find nowadays on the territory of the former Soviet camps are simple, rigid and use religious symbolism. However, the textural emptiness of the representations is only apparent. While the visual level of the memorials is quite simple, rigid and similar, they differentiate on the semantic level. In fact, this deeper significance, hidden in the memory projects, seems to be their essence. Additionally, correlation between particular monuments located in one place makes the commemorative situation even more complex and unclear.

In my paper I will focus on a description of how the memory of the Gulag has been shaped and represented in memorials from the end of the 1980s till nowadays in order to establish what is the texture of the Gulag memory in Russia. My goal is to establish: what kind of interpretation of the Soviet repressions do these monuments offer? Which topics do they display and which omit? What kind of cultural and ideological argumentation do they use to explain the ambiguous experiences? And to what extent do these monuments offer a new language of commemoration? The presentation offers an anthropological and sociological approach to the problem of visual representations of the Gulag and is based on the field research that I have been carrying out in Russia from 2006.

Bohm-Duchen, Monica (Birkbeck College, University of London), ‘Creativity against all the odds: art and internment during World War II’

As I am currently completing a 100,000 word volume on Art and the Second World War (to be published by Lund Humphries, London, in association with Princeton University Press), the issues raised by the representation of war – and World War II in particular - in the fine arts are much on my mind. For the purposes of this conference, I should like to offer a paper comparing the art produced in different internment situations during World War II: in other words, not only the artworks produced by victims of the Nazi Ho-
locust, but also by Allied prisoners of war in Japanese and German camps, Japanese-American internees in the USA and “enemy aliens” in British internment camps. While the specific context for the production of each body of work cannot and should not be overlooked, the motives for creating images in the most inauspicious of circumstances are surprisingly consistent, as are the ethical dilemmas faced by cultural historians in assessing these images’ status as testimony and/or aesthetic objects. The problematic insights they provide into the relationship between trauma and creativity, and between work of art and historical document remain of crucial importance.

This is very much work in progress, and I am still crystallizing my thoughts on what seems to me a fascinating and innovative area of cultural enquiry. (To my knowledge, no such comparisons have yet been attempted.)

Bowd, Gavin (University of St Andrews), ‘Living in delirium: Marin Preda and Romanian remembrance of the Second World War’. Email: gpb@st-andrews.ac.uk

In 1975, Marin Preda’s novel Delirul shook Communist Romania. The text explored events previously treated with great circumspect by official historiography: the brief alliance between the Iron Guard and Marshal Ion Antonescu, the latter’s complex involvement in the Axis Powers’ war against Stalin’s Soviet Union, and the question of ‘Greater Romania’’s lost province, Bessarabia. Through the eyes of the central character, a young journalist on the Eastern Front, history emerges as both an ideological fiction and a deadly ‘delirium’ gripping its participants. This paper returns to the publication of a book that was an instant best-seller, and almost just as instantly seized and censored, examining the conflicting responses to it, and placing the Delirul phenomenon in the context of Communist Romania’s evolving remembrance of the Second World War. We will also look at the subsequent fate of what had been planned as the first tome in a socio-historical fresco cut short by the author’s violent and still mysterious death in 1980. Given present attitudes towards Preda’s novel, as well as towards Antonescu and Romania’s role in the Second World War, has the ‘delirium’ ceased?

Braganca, Manuel (University of Manchester), ‘The French and WWII: the end of the obsession?’ Email: mbraganca01@qub.ac.uk

In recent years, French novels about WWII have received considerable acclaim from the public and critics alike. Indeed, this is the case for The Kindly Ones (2006) by Jonathan Littell, Le Rapport de Brodeck (2007) by Philippe Claudel, and, more recently,
HHhH (2010) by Laurent Binet. Their popularity seems to indicate that the French are still obsessed with WWII. Yet, the purpose of this paper is to suggest that the French are no longer in the ‘obsessive phase’ which characterizes France since 1974, according to Henry Rousso. On the contrary, this paper will argue that the new wave of WWII French novels exemplify a new phase in the way the French now look at WWII. This new phase is characterized with a bigger emphasis on other experiences of WWII in Europe, which are then put in context with the now well-known (and assumed) French one. Special attention will be given to HHhH whose success, we will argue, owes far less to its literary qualities than to the different (para-textual) discourses that accompany it and to the context of its publication.

Brandon, Laura (Canadian War Museum, Ottawa), ‘Unfinished Business: What does Canada’s most important First World War painting tell us about conflict, art, and memory?’

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Canada’s war art collection acts as a nationally popular ‘site of memory’ in formulating Canadians’ understanding of their participation in the First World War. Recently, what is arguably the conflict’s most important Canadian commission was presented in public for the first time. What it depicts challenges some current interpretations of the war and raises questions about the intersection of war, art, and memory.

Celebrated British artist, Augustus John, was occupied painting a massive 12 x 40 foot canvas about Canadian participation when the war ended. A landscape panorama of hills, ruins, and shattered trees frames his more than 50 individual figures of allied and enemy troops, refugees, and the wounded. Commissioned in 1917 as the centrepiece for a war memorial art gallery in Ottawa that was never built, the painting was unfinished when John died in 1961.

Sold at auction, the painting was cut in half to be used as a wall covering in a private house in London, England. After the death of the house’s second owner in 2009, the Canadian War Museum purchased the mural and transported it to Canada where it was unveiled by the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, Prince William and his wife Catherine, in July 2011.

The painting’s total absence from public view for nearly a century provides in its subject matter an opportunity to explore issues of public amnesia as far as the Great War is concerned. Over time a selective process that involves both art critics and the historical profession has marginalized some of what is depicted in John’s enormous mural; his emphasis on refugees, for example. The painting’s recovery challenges us to consider the similarities and differences in how Canadians remember the war today compared to 1919.
Brown, Judy (Cambridge University), ‘Performing Cultural Memory: 9 May Victory Day celebrations in Sevastopol, Crimea’

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This paper examines 9 May ‘Victory Day’ celebrations in Sevastopol as a current day example of performative cultural memory of the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945. Drawing on fieldwork in May 2012, the author analyses the main commemorative activities undertaken by both state and civil society actors – military parades, naval displays, wreath-laying, remembrance initiatives and battle reenactments.

Firstly this paper examines the cultural layering of memory, whereby the ‘Defence of Sevastopol’ 1941-1942 is inseparably linked in artistic and cultural representation to the ‘First Defence of Sevastopol’ 1854-1855 during the Crimean War. This leads to a strong local memory culture regarding war in the naval city. However this section goes on to foreground the transnational dimensions of Victory Day in Sevastopol. It presents what I call the cultural import-export model, whereby Sevastopol is located firmly within the sphere of Russian cultural influence, leading to a high degree of homogeneity in commemorative practice surrounding 9 May.

The second key theme is the intergenerational transmission of memory. The paper looks in particular at the ‘patriotic disciplining’ activities of Sevastopol veterans’ associations (by which every school is linked with a veterans group) and at the mobilization of the school system for the undertaking of commemorative initiatives. Lastly this paper highlights areas of cultural amnesia (regarding, for example, the fate of the Crimean Tatars) as well as regional contestation of the dominant Victory Day narratives.

Brown, Kathryn (Tilburg University, The Netherlands), ‘Remembering the Occupation: Pierre Jahan and Jean Cocteau’

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This paper analyzes the relationship between documentary photography, sculpture, and poetic language in La Mort et les statues (Death and the Statues), a book published jointly by the French photographer, Pierre Jahan, and poet, Jean Cocteau, in 1946. The book comprises Jahan’s photographs of the destruction of Parisian public monuments that had been requisitioned by Nazi occupying forces for scrap metal during the Second World War. Cocteau wrote a preface and series of short texts to accompany this visually abstract record of destruction. Jahan’s photographs of the metaphorical ‘death’ of these monuments are typically interpreted as a form of documentary realism. In this paper, by contrast, I focus on the ‘abstract and surrealistic horror’ that Cocteau found in these images and unravel the singular narrative that they convey in the immediate aftermath of the war. This narrative combines different historical perspectives: recent memory of the Occupation is refracted through France’s longer cultural history sym-
bolized by the destroyed statuary. While *La Mort et les statues* commemorates violence done to the Parisian landscape, its juxtaposition of artistic creation and industrial destruction, the human form and its sculptural representation, constitutes a unique aesthetic language in which documentary realism shades into surreal effect. This combination makes them distinctive in the context of Jahan’s other photographs of everyday life in wartime France. I locate *La Mort et les statues* against the artistic output of the book’s authors, having regard to their personal experiences and allegiances during the Occupation. For Cocteau, in particular, participation in this project constituted an important public statement about his own immediate political and artistic past. When viewed in the light of other documentary photography of the Second World War and its aftermath, *La Mort et les statues* stands as both a unique construction of cultural memory and powerful personal statement by a photographer and poet with contrasting artistic styles and motives.

**Bru-Domínguez, Eva (University of Birmingham), ‘Repressed Memories and Desires: The Monstrous Other in Agustí Villaronga’s *Pa negre* (2010)’**

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This paper examines the (de)construction of historical memory in Agustí Villaronga’s film adaptation of Emili Teixidor’s (2003) post-Spanish Civil War novel *Pa negre*. By drawing on the Freudian concept of the uncanny and Barbara Creed’s notion of phallic panic, the paper suggests that *Pa negre* draws attention to society’s fears about sexual difference and denounces the mechanisms whereby the deviant socio-sexual Other has habitually been excluded, cleansed as it were, from the memory of the collective. *Pa negre*, with its deployment of the ghostly, the monstrous and the sickly – and their clear associations with the feminine – incorporates many of the elements particular of the aesthetics of the horror film genre. More than this, because of its focus on the experience of a child who is haunted by the ghosts of a traumatising past, reminiscent of Víctor Erice’s *El espíritu de la colmena* (1973) and Carlos Saura’s *Cria Cuervos* (1975), and allusions both to the castrated woman in Buñuel’s *Tristana* (1970), and the abject stepmother in Mercè Rodoreda’s novel *La mort i la primavera* (1986), *Pa negre* is read as a film that dialogues with a range of texts that have employed monstrous imagery to address issues about collective memory.
This paper will examine selected aspects of the little-known cultural activities of Czechoslovak refugees in Britain during WWII, noting their role, significance, and impact within the exile/host communities.

Culture was an emotive political tool, bound up with the dilemma of integration, versus the patriotic desire of both preserving a Czechoslovak national identity in an alien environment, and actively promoting it. Paradoxically, however, the arts could also alienate Czech and German-speaking compatriots, and those of diverse political allegiances, rather than unite them by transcending differences.

Nevertheless, social/cultural organizations served three major functions. Firstly, they enabled refugees to recreate (partly at least), a cultural life enjoyed in the homeland and in their mother-tongue, helping to counter the stresses of war by providing a vital source of information, moral support and camaraderie - a ‘home away from home’. Secondly, they showed British citizens, including British wives of Czechoslovak men, that Czechoslovaks possessed a history and culture, while giving exiled Czechoslovak artists, writers and musicians an opportunity to display their talent; and thirdly, they helped to imbue children/youths with an awareness and appreciation of their culture prior to repatriation - crucial in the transmission of cultural memory on a generational basis in exile. Commemorative events were therefore especially important.

Drawing upon archival material, oral histories and some illustrations, the Paper would address the topic within a socio-historical and political context, focussing on contrasting entities such as the Czechoslovak Institute, the Czechoslovak-British Friendship Club, and Young Czechoslovakia, as well as others.

Nearly seven decades after WWII, the complex problems and startling choices of the années noires continue to captivate citizens and scholars alike. Numerous studies concerning French collaboration with German occupying forces have been published. Yet, one aspect of collaboration has received little attention: its impact on descendants of French WWII collaborators.

Beginning in 1971, children of collaborators joined France’s national dialogue about the war years. These children sometimes turned to writing as a means of elucidating their parents’ decisions and reflecting on the impact of those decisions on their own
lives and identities. Moreover, writing allowed the authors to confront conflicting images of the collaborator as national traitor and member of a particular family.

A handful of scholars have studied literature by descendants of French WWII collaborators. Their research has focused overwhelmingly on texts published between 1970 and 1980 by three authors (Jardin, Chaix, Le Garrec) who are children of collaborators. Such texts constitute what I consider to be the “first wave” of publishing by descendants of French WWII collaborators. The “second wave,” consisting of literature by both children (Vitoux, Jamet, Fernandez) and grandchildren (Jardin, Carrère) of collaborators, began around the turn of the century and, as of 2011, continues to unfold.

When one takes into consideration both waves of publishing, two key issues emerge. First, literature by children of collaborators is a distinct, coherent body of work that has a set of defining traits and concerns. Second, literature by grandchildren of collaborators resembles that of the children of collaborators in several ways. Nevertheless, a crucial shift takes place in terms of the nature of the overriding concerns expressed in the two generations’ works. Ultimately, the literature produced by descendants of French collaborators attests not only to the lingering impact of WWII, but also to the dynamic evolution of memory and identity.

Chaktsiris, Mary (Queen’s University, Kingston, Ontario), ‘Extending the “Invitation to Manliness”: Manhood, Empire, and the Great War in Canada, 1914-1919’

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‘The empire needs men, money, and munitions – which are you supplying?’ In Canada, as in other parts of empire, First World War posters with slogans such as this appealed to notions of manhood that valorized courage, duty, and sacrifice. Influenced by literature on masculinity and the war (Bourke; Mosse; Myer; Roper), and incorporating research both in Canada and the United Kingdom, this paper explores (1) how constructed wartime roles for men and women either as nurses or soldiers, financiers or knitters, were represented in war posters, the press, and government policies in Canada and the United Kingdom, and (2) how these constructed roles played a critical part in the Canadian and imperial war effort as women entered industry, returning veterans struggled to re-adjust to civilian life, and communities dealt with rising civil tensions.

Set against the backdrop of community relations in Toronto, then the largest English-speaking city in the Dominion of Canada, this paper explores how the war shaped conflicts about gender, race, and empire on both sides of the Atlantic. Largely marginalized in broader histories of the “European War," this paper demonstrates the participation and inclusion of Toronto in imperial gendered circuits encouraging men and women to participate in the war effort along gendered lines. Involvement in this conference would also place Canada, and its 60,000 war dead across the fields of Flanders
and France, within the broader umbrella of research about the Great War. Fitting the themes of Session 1 and Session 2, this paper invites further discussion of the commemoration and memory of the conflict in Canada as moment of transition from colony to nation, especially considering the segregation or absence of Canada from larger scholarship on the Great War.

**Cornick, Martyn** (University of Birmingham), ‘A Writer at the Front Line: Armand Petitjean and Jean Paulhan’s *Nouvelle Revue francaise*, 1939-1940.’

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With the publication of the correspondence between the neglected writer and critic, Armand Petitjean, and Jean Paulhan, director of the *NRF*, we now have much raw material from which to draw evidence for an analysis of the myth and reality of war, when it broke out in September 1939. Like Sartre, Petitjean attested voluminously to Paulhan from the very beginning to the sense of ‘freedom’ which the declaration of war imparted. The correspondence affords an insight into the way the war affected writers and the production of reviews as the days, weeks and months of the conflict unfolded. Petitjean, at this time a more prominent figure at the *NRF* than Sartre, and with the complicity of Paulhan, also published witness reports on the war in the pages of the *NRF*, pages which were censored by the authorities. The paper will draw on these published and other unpublished materials, with a view to enriching our knowledge of the *NRF* as a site of memory for the French experience of the Second World War.

**Correia, Silvia** (University of Lisbon), ‘Monuments: the precarious face of the myth. Politics of the memory of the First World War in Portugal.’

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Recognizing the existence of an European culture of war, both homogenous and hegemonic, it seeks to understand the nature of the *myth of the war experience* in Portugal in an analysis that considers the profound divergences within Portuguese participation in the conflict within Europe, such as the disastrous effects that determined the specific process of commemoration and those that relegated to the possible condition of a *mutilated victor*.

The political war memory would reveal itself quite polemic. From the insufficient official receptions of the returning soldiers and the ceremonies later introduced to the difficulty in the official determination of a commemorative day. In Portugal, monuments have been ignored as the most obvious traces of the *Myth of War Experience*. As
lieux de mémoire, they have interest, more than artistic, as propaganda tools and mirrors of an official ideology, helpful in the consolidation of an official memory in the face of the conflict devastation.

This presentation seeks to structure an interpretive map of the monuments, posing particular questions. Firstly, if there is relation between the First Republic’s incapacity to project a consistent political memory and to deal with the traumas inflicted by the war and its political fragility, precipitating its collapse in 1926. Secondly, considering the historical definition of public spaces of memory, whether it is possible or not to identify in the official conception of commemoration an agent of political legitimacy.

**Daly, Selena** (Manchester Metropolitan University, UK), ‘Representing the Borderlands: Italian Futurists and Trentino (1914-1916)’

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Irredentism was one of the cornerstones of the Futurist ideology and the so-called ‘unredeemed lands’ surrounding the cities of Trieste and Trento were the focus of Futurist attention from the movement’s foundation by Filippo Tommaso Marinetti in 1909. The city of Trieste was quickly established as the symbol of the irredentist cause; consequently it is the Adriatic city, rather than the Alpine one, that has received the most scholarly attention in relation to Futurist political engagement before, during, and after the First World War. Upon Italy’s intervention in the war, Marinetti and other prominent Futurists, such as Umberto Boccioni, Luigi Russolo, and Antonio Sant’Elia, joined the Lombard Battalion of Volunteer Cyclists, and were sent to fight at the Austrian front-line at the border of Trentino, near Lake Garda. This was their first experience as Futurist soldiers, and represents the realization of their dreams of warfare. While Trieste was the focus of Futurist rhetoric on irredentism, Trentino became the locus of action. This experience had a profound impact on the development of Futurist art, music, and literature.

In this paper, I will examine artistic representations of the Trentino region by prominent Futurists, particularly Marinetti, in order to analyse the role played by the borderland environment in their artistic production. While Trentino had featured in some Futurist artwork before the intervention of Italy, it was the period fighting at the border in 1915 that proved most fertile for the Futurist imagination. A series of diary entries, sketches, ‘words-in-freedom’ paintings, and photographs, all produced at or inspired by the Trentino front line, will be analysed, demonstrating how the physical reality and proximity of the frontier were uppermost in their minds, and how the border affected their experience of war and their negotiation of its meaning.
The battle to free the strategic Black Sea port of Novorossiisk from German occupation during the Great Patriotic War was fought from the beach-head of Malaia zemlia, held by Soviet landing troops, including the young Leonid Brezhnev, for seven months in 1943 prior to the liberation of the town. The significance attributed to the campaign retrospectively is largely dependent upon Brezhnev’s interpretation in his memoirs.

My paper will demonstrate how the specifically local myth of Malaia zemlia was appropriated by the state’s cult of war memory during the Brezhnev era, mainly for the self-promotion of Brezhnev himself, as its figurehead. For most Russians, the myth of Malaia zemlia died with Brezhnev and the Soviet Union, but it lives on in Novorossiisk as local history. With increasing nostalgia for the past and the advent of a new war cult in the twenty-first century, however, the myth of Malaia zemlia is coming back into its own on the national level.

I shall argue that, just as there is a tension between local collective memory and the interpretation of Western and dissident historians, there is a similar polarity between the understanding of Malaia zemlia locally and nationally, and with it a substantial difference between the judgment of Brezhnev on the local and national levels. I shall demonstrate that, if at first the national interpretation subsumed the local, the local myth then re-appropriated the national, while today the state has a renewed vested interest in reviving the once ridiculed myth of Malaia zemlia.

When Germany invaded Belgium on 4 August 1914, Britain declared war on Germany. In the subsequent weeks the German forces moved through Belgium from east to west, leaving behind a trace of destruction, which in itself initiated stories about alleged atrocities.

These stories helped trigger a mass movement of unprecedented scale, in which more than a million and a half Belgians sought refuge abroad. Most of them fled to the Netherlands and France, but over a quarter of million Belgians went to Britain.

Meanwhile in Britain one of the responses to the war was by Charles Masterman who assembled two dozens of renowned authors to be involved in what later on was considered to be a propaganda move furthering public support for the war effort.

Both the atrocities stories and Masterman’s men of letters have been studied in much detail. However, by entering Belgian refugees and Belgian exiled men of letters
into the equation new dimensions arise. First the rather repetitive-stereotypical representation of *Gallant Little Belgium* by British authors is measured against contributions by Belgian authors in exile that were published in British newspapers, but also against publications in exile.

The extent to which the two traits of literary representations also represent societal realities is analysed, as is the question whether or not they are conflicting images or complementary ones. It is argued that in exile Belgian refugees constructed a meaningful identity that no longer could be maintained as soon as the war was ended.

**Diłanian-Pinkowicz, Karina (Polish Academy of Sciences), ’Visualizing the Armenian Genocide’**

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“*In order to know, we must imagine for ourselves. (…) Let us not invoke the unimaginable. Let us not shelter ourselves by saying that we cannot, that we could not by any means, imagine it to the very end. We are obliged to that oppressive imaginable*”.

Georges Didi-Huberman

Does the image tell the truth? Can it bear witness to the past? Without doubt, when one cannot find words to describe what one can see or experiences, the image remains the only means of expression. Furthermore, as Georges Didi-Huberman points out, the picture becomes important evidence in attempts to understand and imagine the ‘unimaginable’.

The visual record was crucial for the 1915 Armenian genocide survivors. The enormous psychological burden caused by the trauma and the world’s 50 year long amnesia regarding the genocide have prevented Armenians from talking about the tragedy no one had seen before. It is worth finding and analyzing the images taken then and published at the risk of life. These pictures are in fact one of the first and extremely important evidence of the crimes committed during the Great War. They seem to be the only adequate language to talk about the past.

This paper will focus on studying the visual representation of the Armenian genocide – from the first pictures taken by Armin Wegner, a nurse and second lieutenant in the German World War I army, who collected unique photographs illustrating the Armenian fate during the extermination and deportations, through the first silent film about the Armenian genocide, the art representations made already in the 1960s after the explosion of the memory of the Armenian genocide, to the recent representations of the 1915 great catastrophe. By that means, I will examine the way by which cultural memory of the Armenian genocide survived nearly a century and contributed to collective memory building.

Dodd, Lindsey (University of Huddersfield), ‘Black hole or memory comet? The Allied bombing of France (1940-1945) as vivid but neglected experience’
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While the Allied bombing of France during World War II has been described as a ‘black hole’ in French collective memory, it could, and perhaps should, be seen as a ‘memory comet’: a hot, vivid experience at the core, rarely but regularly appearing, leading a trail of memories across time.

This paper illustrates the limits of the hegemonic ‘collective memory’ of war in France, which has ignored the experiences of those outside the resistance-collaboration discourse that has steamrollered its way over representations of war since 1944. This discourse has fostered a cultural climate of suspicion towards war memories for decades, which leaves non-hegemonic memories, such as bombing, little public space for articulation. Has France left it too late, given the dwindling of the survivor generation, to gain scholarly insight into the experiences of parts of its population excluded from the dominant narrative of war?

After commenting on the Allied bombing of France and collective memory, Part 1 uses oral narratives to illustrate how public representations of war in France have created the illusion of a ‘black hole’ in memory. First, dominant narratives overlay memories of bombing, which become perceptible only obliquely through often-told stories of war (‘cold memories’, e.g. concerning food shortages); second, narrators push traumatic memories down a hierarchy of hardship which chimes with more commonly accepted understandings of victimhood (e.g. Jewish persecution); third, public recognition of bombing is rare, and arenas of commemoration remain local and restricted. Part 2 introduces the ‘memory comet’, first using oral narratives to illustrate the memory of bombing as ‘hot’, vivid and emotional; second, showing that survivors see bombing at the root of irreversible changes to life trajectories; third, that memories have strong interim-period and present-day behavioural links which maintain bombing’s presence in survivors’ lives.

This paper contributes to understanding the interaction of private and public memories of war, in particular illuminating the way that France’s post-war ‘memory wars’ have damaged the construction of an inclusive national history of war.

Duffy, Helena (University of Wroclaw), ‘The Jew as St Christopher. The Holocaust and the Soviet Jews’ Participation in the War Effort in the Oeuvre of Andreï Makine’
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If all of Makine’s novels are intensely preoccupied with military conflicts, World War II remains the Franco-Russian author’s main point of historical reference. Makine’s reason for repeatedly revisiting what in Russia is known as the Great Patriotic War is, as the
author implies, to reject the idea of History as a unitary past and to offer ‘histories’, that is what Jeffrey N. Cox and Larry J. Reynolds have termed ‘an ongoing series of human constructions’. In doing so Makine strives to oppose both the official Communist historiography that while mythologising the Great Victory often victimised the conflict’s actual survivors, and the misconceptions concerning the Soviet Union’s role in World War II that have accumulated in the West. In this context, this paper sets out to investigate whether Makine’s representation of the Great Patriotic War allies itself with the postmodern treatment of historical material, which consists in releasing history from the influence of dominant ideologies, in revising, reinterpreting and demystifying the authorised version of the past, and in giving voice to those who have been excluded from the making and writing of history. Apart from filtering the past through the prism of an individual perspective, a process that E. Wesseling calls ‘subjectivisation of history’, Makine’s highly self-referential novels combine an investigation of the past with the protagonist’s quest for an identity. They also question the documentability of historical events by exposing the unreliability or even the fallacy of evidence such as newspapers, eye-witness accounts, artefacts and photographs. However, despite these and other rhetorical procedures that potentially point to the ‘revisionist’ character of Makine’s historical novels, this paper endeavours to demonstrate that the Franco-Russia author’s works, which, importantly, are destined primarily for Western readers, do little more than perpetuate the Soviet version of World War II. They do so by emphasising the Red Army’s pivotal role and sacrifice in liberating Europe from fascism, at the same time systematically glossing over the atrocities committed by Soviet soldiers, such as massacres of civilians and POWs, lootings or mass rapes, not to mention the Soviet domination of countries belonging to what was to become known as the Eastern Bloc.

Fell, Alison (University of Leeds) and Debruyne, Emmanuel (Université catholique de Louvain), ‘Model Martyrs? Remembering First World War Resistance Heroines in Belgium and France’

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This paper will focus on women who were engaged in resistance activities in occupied France and Belgium during the First World War. Some of these women, especially those who died, became national heroines. Edith Cavell was the most famous of these martyr-heroines, but there were others whose memory persisted after the Armistice, and whose memory played a role in the postwar construction of national identities. After outlining the historical context, this paper will discuss two aspects of the memory of these Resistance heroines. Firstly, we will consider the features of their representation in literature, cinema and monuments, discussing the extent to which they conform to pre-existing models of female heroism such as Joan of Arc, and/or contribute to an evolution of women’s social roles. The case-studies from France will include Louise de Bettignies, Marie-Léonie Vanhoutte and Louise Thuliez, who were all imprisoned in
Germany for espionage or for their roles in organizing Allied soldiers’ escape networks. For Belgium, it will deal with figures like Gabrielle Petit, national heroine *par excellence*, but also Marie de Croÿ, Marthe CNockaert or Lucie Dejardin, who survived the war and experienced very different forms of heroisation. Secondly, we will discuss the ideological and political uses of these national heroines. In France, this will include a discussion of the evocation of Resistance heroines in the discourse of right-wing nationalist associations such as the *Croix du Feu* in the late 1920s. In Belgium, the public use of these figures will outline the diverging memories between the Flemish and French-speaking communities during the interwar period.

**Freeman, Kirrily** (Saint Mary’s University, Halifax, Canada), *Silence and Memory: The Lost Bells of Europe*¹

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In May 2009, 127 plaster casts were discovered at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa. These casts, made by Nazi art historians, are the last known traces of medieval and early modern European church bells melted down in Germany during the Second World War. In June and July 2011, these casts were displayed for the first time in the exhibition *Silence and Memory: The Lost Bells of Europe* at the Saint Mary’s University Art Gallery, in Halifax, Nova Scotia.²

This exhibition, of which I was curator, explored the layers of memory associated with these artifacts: post-war memories of the war experience in Germany including the mobilization of German memories of victimhood; ecclesiastical memories of the Second World War in Europe and questions of church complicity with the Nazi regime; the more recent romanticization of war and genocide in public memory and commemoration; but also an earlier Nazi “memory” of Germanic culture in the High Middle Ages. The plasters in the exhibition were all created to preserve a trace of Germanic art and history that, though revered, was being sacrificed to the Nazi war effort. All are impressions of bell decoration dating from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries, but the variety of their imagery is striking. In addition to saints and madonnas, there are Green Men, mythical beasts, knights and dragons, and a selection of secular, political and decorative themes. The choice to preserve this particular imagery reveals a great deal about the Nazi mobilization of medieval and early modern Germany during the Third Reich.

² Photos: Steve Farmer.
This paper proposes to use the exhibition *Silence and Memory: The Lost Bells of Europe* as a lens through which to examine these layers of memory and their role in the construction of meaning and identity in Germany, and indeed in North America, in the Nazi and post-war periods, but also in the present day.

**Gehrhardt**, Marjorie (University of Exeter), ‘The Destiny and Representation of Facialy Injured Soldiers in the Interwar Period’

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New weaponry and changes in warfare during the First World War dramatically increased the number of facially injured soldiers while medical advances enabled many of these soldiers to survive their wounds and, at least on paper, to return to civil life. However, as with many other injured and crippled soldiers, society was not always prepared for the long-term confrontation with these walking reminders of the war. This conflict is reflected in the 1920s and 1930s media and in the arts.

Studies that take facially injured soldiers of the First World War as their focus of attention are scarce and often limited to medical questions. My paper, which is based on my postgraduate studies to date, explores historical documents as well as artistic representations of facially injured soldiers. With an interdisciplinary perspective I aim to compare the destiny and representations of facially disfigured soldiers in France, Great Britain and Germany.

My emphasis rests on the strategies facially injured soldiers developed to overcome their trauma, both on an individual and on a collective level. For this purpose, literary and artistic depictions (such as novels by Vicki Baum and Renée Girard, pastels by Henry Tonks, drawings by Raphaël Freida and photographs) will be set against the documentation of ‘real’ cases in order to highlight similarities and discrepancies within European arts and societies. My proposed paper explores the interface between historical accounts and artistic representations, along with the role played by *gueules cassées* — as they came to be known in France — in remembering the war.

**Goldberg**, Harold J. (The University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee), ‘Reconstructing D-Day Memory: How Contemporary Politics made Germans Victims of the War’

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In 1944 the divide between the Allies as saviors of Europe and the Germans as aggressors, occupiers, and oppressors of the continent was clear. Nevertheless, in 1984 and again in 1994 Chancellor Kohl hoped to be invited to the D-Day ceremonies in Normandy;
he was disappointed when he was left out of the remembrance events. Ten years later in 2004, a grateful Chancellor Schroeder was included as a symbol of European cooperation. While keynote speeches have continued to mention sacrifice, the inclusion of the former enemy prioritizes the European Union and Germany’s place as leader of the new Europe. Veterans groups have protested this intentional historical amnesia, but the disappearance of the WWII generation has permitted politicians to reconstruct history to serve ideological and political purposes. Chirac and Schroeder argued that the Germans of 2004 had the same right to remember 1944 as Allied nations did, creating a wartime paradigm that transformed Germans from enemies of the Allies to victims of the Nazis and gained for Germany an equivalency with other European nations that reflected Germany’s role in the present rather than the 1940s.

My presentation will explore the political and cultural transformation of the D-Day ceremony from a commemoration of a decisive battle to a celebration of unity in Europe and the reconciliation between France and Germany. I plan to analyze the deliberate manipulation of the memory of June 6, 1944 by politicians committed to improved relations rather than historical honesty. Further, my paper will explore why these changes took place, examine the controversies involved, investigate why the Russians were excluded from the June remembrances, and analyze the way in which D-Day commemorations have become a symbol for a united Europe while the memory of the war itself fades with the generation that fought it.

Goldberg, Nancy Sloan (Middle Tennessee State University), ’The Aryan on the Cutting-Room Floor: American Cinematic Reconstruction of German Ideology in The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse’

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One of best-selling novels of the First World War was Vicente Blasco Ibañez’s Los cuatro jinetes del apocalipsis, published in Spanish in 1916 and in English translation in 1918 as The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. Written at the request of French President Poincaré, Blasco Ibañez’s novel examines the effects of the war on an Argentine family with relatives fighting on both the French and German sides. While themes of self-sacrifice and patriotic duty are common among novelistic accounts of the war, Blasco Ibañez adds a unique aspect to his story: impugning the racialist philosophy of Pan-Germanism as the motive for German militarism. Blasco Ibañez portrays German imperialist designs fueled by theories of Aryan ‘superiority’ and ‘degeneracy’ of non-Aryan Europeans as a fundamental threat to the survival of Western Civilization. His novel demonstrates that these ideas, associated now with Nazi ideology, were widely held among German intellectuals before the First World War.

Two film versions of the novel exist, both made by American directors. Although the 1921 version by Rex Ingram and the 1962 version by Vincente Minelli both reproduce the book’s theme of war as a powerful agent of personal redemption, they abandon
Blasco Ibañez’s emphasis on German racialist theory. Moreover, the setting of the 1962 film, recast in Nazi-occupied Paris, renders Minnelli’s cleansing of German racism and benign portrayal of Germans as particularly problematic.

My paper will analyze why these American filmmakers chose to eliminate Blasco Ibañez’s original representation of German war aims and retained only the novel’s commemoration of self-sacrifice as redemption for personal failings. By removing politics and ideology, the films reconstruct both world wars as transhistorical spaces where individuals freely choose their destinies. Such deliberate restructuring effectively rewrites history to eradicate the role and accountability of nations, their governments and policies in the legacy of war.

Gordon, Bertram M. (Mills College, Oakland, California), ‘“Defensive Architecture” and World War II Memory: The Maginot Line’

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Although much is written about literary, cinematographic, and artistic representations of World War II and their influence on the changing cultural memories of that conflict, less attention is paid to the role of “defensive architecture,” in the words of Luxembourg’s European Institute of Cultural Routes. This paper uses literary and cinematic sources to analyze the ruptures and continuities in the historical images of the Maginot Line and their role in the construction of memory of the war.

While most accounts of the Line focus on its construction and failure to protect France in 1940, few examine its role in the construction of postwar memory of the war in France, Germany, and the English-speaking countries. To many, the Line came to symbolize a defensive posture that ultimately proved futile. This image persists to the present, although challenged by Roger Bruge’s Blow up the Maginot Line [Faites sauter la Ligne Maginot] in 1973, which cast a more positive light on the role of the forts in 1940.

The Line also became an architectural symbol of French-German postwar reconciliation when aging French and German war veterans jointly placed a commemorative plaque at the La Ferté fort in 1973. With the war receding in memory, the British magazine After the Battle in 1988 highlighted the forts, including those along the Franco-Italian frontier, addressing another dimension, the Italian memory of the 1940 campaign.

Annually, the Maginot Line attracts some 300,000 visitors, whose perspectives are shifting from the more intense memory of the participants and their contemporaries to a more distant focus placing the forts into a long sequence of memorials dating to Alésia and the war against the Romans in France. Authenticity and preservation are now key issues shaping the role of the forts in the formation of memory.
**Grayson, Richard S. (Goldsmiths, University of London), ‘Myth and the Battle of Messines: Building a New Memory of Ireland’s Great War’**

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Prior to the opening of the Island of Ireland Peace Tower at Messines in 1998, there had been no all-Ireland First World War memorial. Those on the Somme specifically focused on the memory of the soldiers from one community: the 36th (Ulster) Division at Thiepval and the 16th (Irish) Division at Guillemont. Both commemorated overtly political divisions and drew on cultural forms which could not be inclusive.

With the opening of the Peace Tower (a cultural icon recognised and accepted both north and south of the border), a new phase of memory was initiated. The significance of the site was as the location of a joint operation by the 16th and 36th Divisions in June 1917, one of the most effective allied attacks of the war. It can be (and is) held up as a symbol of a shared Irish story across religious and political divides.

As a contribution to section two of the conference, ‘National Historiographies’, this paper will discuss how the Peace Tower came to be built. The project drew on changes in national historiographies which were already taking place, but has also contributed to their continuing development. The paper will discuss associated initiatives such as the International School for Peace Studies at Messines, and the Fellowship of Messines which aims to reconcile former paramilitaries from republican and loyalist traditions. It will also argue that the new ‘ideal’ of Messines rests on a partial reading (or ‘myth’) of who fought at Messines in the 16th and 36th divisions. Using statistics of fatalities it will show that the two divisions were far from being uniformly ‘Irish’ and drew in soldiers from across the UK. As such, memories of Messines are arguably just as partial as previous histories of the war which focused on the battle of the Somme.

**Grenaudier-Klijn, France (Massey University, NZ), ‘Street names in Patrick Modiano’s Second World War novels – Unconcealing the Occupation’**

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The German Occupation of France lies at the core of French novelist Patrick Modiano’s narratives. Yet, Modiano, born in 1945 of a Jewish father and a Belgium mother, did not have first-hand experience of the event. His relation to this period of French history is therefore largely fictional; a (re)construction. It is also obsessive, as illustrated by the quasi-compulsive peregrinations of the homodiegetic narrator through the streets of Paris, and palimpsestic, the protagonist interweaving his own (literal and figurative) itinerary with the life-story of others: direct family members, historical figures and writers.

Focussing in particular on the ambivalent ‘places of memory’ that pepper Modiano’s novels, I will examine more closely the symbolism of recurrent street names. Street names bear the traces of history and act therefore as a palliative to oblivion. They testify, at-
test and, more often than not, glorify and exalt. Yet, they can also disturb and provoke. As a result their name is sometimes changed; streets are stripped of their identity and given a new one. But what of those ‘banal’ streets whose names are not explicitly associated with any dark figure or episode, but are nonetheless prone to trigger anxiety and guilt?

One street in particular – la rue Lauriston, headquarter of the French Gestapo – recurs with great frequency. Rather drab and unpretentious, this street does not stand out in any way from Parisian topography. Yet, the simple uttering of its name makes present a troubled past, both at a collective and personal level. Given its concomitantly epistemological and imaginary dimensions - however referential, it is also a retrospective representation - could Modiano’s rue Lauriston represent a form of *aletheia* or unconcealedness typical of this author’s specific relationship to Occupation France, exhortative preoccupations with the misdeeds of the past and need to resist cultural amnesia?

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**Haigh, Emma Grundy (Goldsmiths, University of London), ‘Waiting for the Past: Re-inventing Britain’s War Experience’**

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This paper seeks to discuss questions of loyalty, memory and identity as they are negotiated in R. Wright Campbell’s 1975 novel *The Spy Who Sat and Waited*. A product of the Cold War, the novel reconstructs cultural memories of Britain’s identity as a nation at war in the paradoxical context of espionage and loyalty.

Situated on the edges of inclusion, the narrative of the British war experience is told from the perspective of Wilhelm Oerter, a German-born naturalised British citizen who is also a ‘sleeper’ spy, sent to the Orkney Islands in 1919 to watch, to wait and, in the event of another war, to act. When the Second World War starts, Oerter is both part of the war effort and a saboteur of it, already held in suspicion and worthy of that suspicion. The narrative negotiates the spaces between Islander/mainlander, Scotland/England, insider/outsider, enemy/comrade – setting political and military spaces in conflict in a liminal outpost. What we understand as our collective memories of the war effort become stripped of the ‘Blitz spirit’, and permeated instead with strange double meaning.

I argue that the novel, written in a hindsight of over thirty years, not only re-imagines the British war experience, acting as a reflection on identity and nationhood of a nation at war, but in doing so recognises both the unreality of British cultural memories of WW2 and the symbolic necessity of maintaining those memories in the face of conflict. This paper thus has two objectives: first to investigate concepts of a national ‘at-war’ identity in the context of a character with multiple loyalties; second, to explore

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3 *‘Aletheia’* – as ‘disclosedeness’ - see **B. and T.**, Heidegger, pp. 56-57; and **Chemins qui ne mènent nulle part**, p. 61, 66.
the protagonist as a metaphorical representation of the conflict of a nation that finds itself at ‘cold’ war in the twentieth-century, remembering but not quite reconciling itself with its past.

**Hauser, Ewa (University of Warsaw), ‘Nationalization of memory: Wajda’s Warsaw uprisings’**

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Post-war Polish identity has been constructed around the trauma of the destruction of Warsaw, a war crime perpetrated by the invading German army in several installments. The figure of the invading Germans was the primary model against which Polish national identity was formed between the end of WWII and the fall of communism. Only after 1989 was the role the Soviets played in Warsaw’s destruction acknowledged, first covertly, and then perhaps with exaggerated emphasis.

The two Warsaw Uprisings of 1943 and 1944, conducted respectively by the condemned Ghetto Jews and the rebellious Home Army were both overtly fought against the single enemy: the German occupier. The ‘44 Uprising, however, was also envisaged and fought as a symbolic show of force in plain view and for the benefit of the Soviet army, stationed across the river at the city gates.

This paper analyzes Andrzej Wajda’s war films in order to track the changes in his treatment of this trauma dependent on the political climate at the time of film’s release. Thus, the socialist realist 1954 *Generation* differs significantly from films made during the thaw (1957 *Kanal* and 1958 *Ashes and Diamonds*) and, most importantly from those produced in the free and increasingly anti-Russian, democratic Poland (1992 *Holly Week*, 1993 *A Ring with Crowned Eagle*). It will be argued that the political contingencies shaped the cinematographic imagination and influenced accordingly representational memory construction. Additionally, I argue that artistic valor declines not only in conditions of totalitarian censorship intruding into the textual content and form as, but ironically also when censorship is lifted and replaced with unrestricted expression of nationalist affect.

**Herman, Gregory (University of Aberdeen), ‘Jorge Semprún and the Truth of Fiction’**

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In any discussion of the place and purpose of fiction in a historical account or act of testimony, it is perhaps inevitable that the ancient Greek word ‘pharmakon’ should be considered; this word, as Derrida [1972] has shown, contains the diametrically opposed
meanings of ‘cure’ and ‘poison’. These binaries will form the basis for an examination of the fictionalisation of events in Jorge Semprún’s *Le grand voyage* [1963] and *L’écriture ou la vie* [1994].

Arrested by the Gestapo for his role in the French Résistance, these two works narrate Semprún’s deportation and internment in Buchenwald concentration camp. However Semprún strays far from the historical ‘truth’ found in the testimonies of other deportees; as a result he has provoked the ire of several critics, notably Claude Lanzmann, who has argued that the fictionalisation of any account of the *univers concentrationnaire* plays solely into the hands of negationists and revisionists. For Semprún however “reality often needs some make-believe, to become real [...] to be made believable” [1994: 262], a point on which Lawrence Langer is in agreement: “the power of the imagination [...] does far more than the historian’s fidelity to fact to involve the uninitiated reader in the atmosphere of the Holocaust” [1975: 78].

Returning then to the notion of the ‘pharmakon’, this paper will explore Semprún’s writings and the following questions: what are the consequences of fictionalised testimony? How does fiction affect, disrupt and challenge the way in which we both remember and learn of the Blanchotian ‘limit-experience’? Does fiction allow the witness a more comprehensive means to ‘work through’ and impose his own subjectivity on the traumatic event? Or is it in fact a sacrilege of that experience which, by attempting to render the incomprehensible comprehensible, damages the fundamental truth of that event?

**Houlihan, Patrick (University of Chicago), ““Stabat mater dolorosa”: Catholic Transnational Memories of the Great War in Central Europe”**

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We are on the threshold of a new transnational historiographic generation of writing about the First World War, yet national histories remain resilient in structuring memories of what the war meant. As Jay Winter and others have argued, the term ‘collective memory’ should be replaced by a notion of ‘historical remembrance’ that problematizes different socio-political actors, competing agendas, and disparate degrees of agency and representation.

Based on my forthcoming book project, this paper will discuss ascriptions of sacrifice, reflecting on social reintegration and mourning after 1918. Based on new archival material on religion in Central Europe, the paper especially focuses on viewing concepts of personal religiosity above and below the level of the nation-state, integrating the experiences of both home front and battlefront. Because of its liturgical and theological commonalities, the Catholic Church provides an excellent avenue for a transnational religious history of the war. Furthermore, a focus on the losing empires, Germany and Austria-Hungary, engages grand narratives of meaning. It shows that defeat had a multiplicity of interpretations for religious believers, which did not fall coincide with a collective verdict of disillusionment.
The paper ultimately shows the intertwined aspects of total war, especially related to family bonds where women and children were important actors alongside soldiers, priests, and bishops. Because of its dolorous yet consoling notion of intercession and healing, the Catholic cyclical interpretations of history fit better as an interpretation of loss in the interwar period, with less disillusioning consequences that the linear religious nationalism of Protestant Prussia. There was a more widespread acceptance of the new interwar socio-political orders, as long as they promised a return to organic values and hierarchical authority. Catholic traditionalism proved adaptable and even amenable to defeat in Central Europe during the Great War.

**Hristova, Marije** (Maastricht University, Netherlands), ‘Borrowed Memory. A reading of Antonio Muñoz Molina’s Sefarad’

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The memory of the Second World War and the Holocaust has been foreign to Spanish collective memory. This is not surprising, considering the complete control of public memory by the Franco dictatorship until 1975. While the efforts of the Blue Division were inserted in the discourse of glorification of the ‘martyrs’ who had died for Spain during the Spanish Civil War, the memory of the republicans in the German concentration camps were silenced and banned together with the republican memories of the Spanish Civil War.

It is striking however, how the Holocaust has been subject to several Spanish novels as from the 1990s, being introduced at the same time as the renewed interest in the republican memories of the Spanish Civil War. I am interested in the approximation to the memory of the Second World War from the Spanish perspective. Far from being an example of the globalization of the Holocaust, we can read in these novels a specific angle that departs from the memory of the Spanish Civil War. *Sefarad* (2001) from the Spanish author Antonio Muñoz Molina is one of the most emblematic examples of this new tendency in the Spanish contemporary novel. In this ‘novel of novels’, Muñoz Molina presents seventeen independent but interlaced stories narrating the experience of exile and expulsion from different perspectives. Interestingly, Muñoz Molina explicitly borrows from iconic authors to approach memories from the Second World War. In my paper, I will analyze this work from the perspective of ‘borrowed memory’. I will elucidate how this approach is somehow similar to the approximation to Spain’s own collective memory of the Spanish Civil War, that was also silenced for many years and only scarcely has been passed on to the next generations. Borrowing is used as a strategy to fill the gap of amnesia.
Hurcombe, Martin (University of Bristol), ‘French Crime Fiction and the First World War’

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In recent years, there has been increased academic interest in post-war French crime fiction generally and in that genre’s preoccupation with the Second World War and the Occupation of France more particularly. Yet little has been made of the numerous crime novels that have emerged since the 1980s concerned with the First World War. This paper begins to redress this, examining two examples of this trend: Jean Amila’s *Le boucher des Hurlus* (1982) and Didier Daeninckx’s *Le Der des ders* (1984). Both works are concerned with an aspect of the war’s history that had until then received little attention; namely, the treatment, including execution, meted out to those individuals and units that mutinied in 1917. Using Paul Ricoeur’s theories concerning memory, history and forgetting, this paper will argue that both novels constitute an intermediary between the judge and the historian; while the judge, Ricoeur argues, is concerned with the guilt or otherwise of the individual, the historian is predominantly interested in collective ideas, action and responsibility. This paper will demonstrate how, adopting the trappings of the judicial enquiry into the individual’s conduct via the medium of crime fiction, and simultaneously placing this inquiry within the societal context within which the novel as a genre operates, these novels move beyond a purely legalistic interest in personal guilt in order to explore the responsibilities of collective entities, and principally the French military, during the First World War. In this they tell us much about the modern, politically and historically engaged crime novel’s function in French society, posing, as it does, a challenge to long established national myths and therefore Republican orthodoxy.

Jarecka, Urszula (Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences), ‘Re-shaping World War II memory as a German and Polish experience of ‘tourism’

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This paper is devoted to an anthropological and sociological analysis of anti-war monuments and sites in Germany and Poland. Special tourist ‘attractions’ are treated here as the last stage of re-thinking, re-configuring and re-imaging the past. I’m going to focus on the rhetoric of spatial experience formed by monuments, buildings, and other objects (e.g. ruins), public spaces that are famous due to World War II and meaningful for society. These sites can be used for purposes such as illustrating the fate of a nation, reviving the tradition and history of the country, shaping the attitudes towards war and history, etc. Chosen objects in Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Nuremberg, Gdańsk, Warsaw, and Lublin will serve as examples of re-writing war experience. In the new political order after World War II, the process of shaping social memory of any
given community takes place in both real and symbolic spaces, and some battles on the interpretation of events are still fought. In order to explore this problem, I will try to answer the following questions: is it possible to observe the evolution of war narrative tracing changes in conceptualizing tourist attractions? How do sites of memory create the mythology and ideology of war?

Kangaspuro, Markku (University of Helsinki), ‘The Victory Day in History Politics’

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My paper focuses on the political use (in different dimensions: identity politics, foreign policy and domestic policy) of the Victory Day in Russian media. My interest is in the comparison of differences between the representations of the 60th and 65th commemorations of Victory Day.

In Russia the evolution of the metaphor of Victory Day and competition over interpretations of World War II and the role of Stalin are good examples of the significance of history politics. Although we in general know certain facts in history, conclusions and analyses can differ in remarkable ways. Actually this difference in analyses is exactly what constitutes the difference between description based on empirical findings and history as an academic discipline. Reinhart Koselleck has defined the essence of history, pointing out that history is eternally changing, temporal representations of the past written on a moving time-line from the perspective of future expectations, the horizon of the future.

After the fall of the Soviet Union, the Great Patriotic War was almost the only thing which was generally accepted as grounds for national pride, the integrity of society and the continuation of Russia’s state identity as a successor state of the Soviet Union. The Great Patriotic War represents, on the one hand, the nation’s sufferings during the Nazi occupation and, on the other hand, a narration on how the Fascist Army was defeated by the heroic Red Army with huge sacrifices.

However, the contest over the meanings of history is actually a contest over the relevance of history for future action. That is the major reason why Victory Day celebrations have always been prominent in Russia. In particular this held true during the 60th anniversary of the Great Patriotic War in 2005 which was celebrated ostentatiously in Moscow but disputed in most if not all of the countries of former Eastern Europe in 2005.
Karczewska, Malgorzata (University of Białystok), ‘Cuius region, eius memoria. First World War memorials on the territory of former East Prussia, nowadays Poland’.

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In social reality symbols of remembrance include places connected with the cult of the dead, monuments, museums, literature, media messages – that is everything that brings to mind and consolidates group experiences relating to specific, significant events from the past. Monuments are symbols which often go unnoticed on a daily basis – they blend in with the landscape and in the eyes of inhabitants become its natural part. They come to life on occasions of anniversaries of important events, often constituting the centrepiece of the decorations. Therefore, it is difficult to differentiate between conscious social involvement in the functioning of this symbol of remembrance and the institutionally imposed necessity to use this symbol in order to perpetuate the memory of historical events. Irrespective of this, the necessary condition for a monument to function as a symbol of remembrance is the conformity of the message it carries with the system of values and the elements shaping the inhabitants’ identity.

The scope of the paper makes it possible to present only one of these elements – monuments dedicated German soldiers fallen in First World War and their functioning in present social space on the territory of nowadays Poland.

Until 1945 the area of my interest constituted a part of Germany – a province called East Prussia (German Ostpreußen). As a result of the agreements concluded at the Yalta conference in 1945 the territory fell to Poland as compensation for the eastern territories of pre-war Poland lost to the Soviet Union. At the same time a decision was taken to resettle the people of East Prussia in Germany. The left territories were to be settled by people from the eastern part of pre-war Poland – Poles and the Lemko population, today commonly referred to as the Ukrainians (Operation Wisła). These new inhabitants experienced a feeling of estrangement and temporariness which was further intensified by the foreignness of the cultural landscape – a different building style, the lack of roadside crosses and shrines which could not be found in the areas occupied by the Evangelical population but constituted an integral part of the landscape of Catholic and Greek Catholic areas, as well as alien symbols of remembrance in the form of family graveyards, war cemeteries and monuments. The number of the latter was considerable. This was the result of the principles of developing national identity among the people of East Prussia employed by the German state in the interwar period. An important element of this identity was the natural and cultural landscape. Monuments constituting a symbolic element of the cultural landscape were erected in nearly every locality, situated in the centres of towns and villages in prominent places. After First World War monuments in honour of residents killed during warfare were erected in parish localities.

The incorporation of East Prussia into Poland in 1945 initiated an intensive process of erasing all traces of German presence, imposed by the communist authorities in the
sphere of actions and ideology. These actions – aimed at proving that these territories had belonged to Poland from time immemorial – were effective to such a degree that to this day they function in the awareness of a large number of Poles as "The recovered territories". Given these circumstances, the presence of the monuments commemorating those killed during First World War created a problem. In the case of another monuments – for example plebiscite monuments, the solution seemed obvious – they had to be removed or transformed, since they served as a reminder of the voting results which were unfavorable to Poland. The situation was different in the case of war monuments. On the one hand the German inscriptions made in Gothic script were alien and negatively perceived by the new inhabitants and authorities. On the other hand, the lists of fallen included Polish-sounding surnames, borne by the part of the population of East Prussia originating from the region of Masovia. Two different fates awaited these monuments as a result of this dilemma. Some of them survived in unchanged form. However, they have become "dead" objects, which in the awareness of present-day inhabitants function as "German", meaning not our but foreign monuments, tolerated by state offices but left out during official ceremonies and not included by the conservation services in registers of historic monuments. Others have been transformed in order to adapt them to the current needs of the state administration. German symbols have been removed, the inscriptions have been changed while the bodies of these monuments have been used for the purpose of commemorating significant historical events or people who played an important role in Polish culture.

The main question of this paper is why the stories of particularly objects were different? Why some of them were destroyed at once after the Polish people have come, and the other preserved until nowadays? What are the German First World War memorials for present inhabitants who tried to rebuild them and what is their significance in creating "new Masurian" identity?

Kidd, William (University of Stirling), 'Lacombe Lucien – Lucien Lacombe: mirror image or broken mirror? Fictions and memories revisited'

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In an analogy with obvious cinematic as well as psychoanalytic connotations, French historian Henri Rousso described the Second World War years as a 'screen' onto which successive generations of his countrymen projected their own conflicts, and a 'broken mirror' in which they sought vainly for a unifying image of the lived – or remembered – experience of Occupation. Two and half decades after the 'Vichy Syndrome', my paper re-visits one of its most controversial manifestations, the Louis Malle-Patrick Modiano film Lacombe Lucien (1974) whose eponymous protagonist has been considered emblematic of the revisionist 'mode retro' and the stylish glamorisation of collaborationism. I argue that this refractory work owes much of its disturbing complexity to the subliminal impact of a number of fractured images – visual-verbal
constructs, a-symmetrical juxtapositions, reflective metaphors – which suggest alternative readings of the film’s ostensible ideological significance. It also argues that only by examining text and peritext, the film as made and the scenario as published, can we acquire a fuller understanding of a work which encapsulated the impossibility of a collective memory of the ‘les années noires’ and which, ending with a regression to a pre-political, pre-verbal, almost edenic state, invites the spectator’s collusion in the articulation of an unproblematic image of France’s past.

Krejberg, Kasper Green (Aarhus University, Denmark), ‘Out of the combat zone, into the body. Modern war literature from Ernst Jünger’s Storm of Steel (1920) to W.G. Sebald’s Austerlitz (2001)’

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In European literature war has often been depicted as a dramatic, tragic, or apocalyptic spectacle. Battle scenes and vast destruction panoramas have rendered what is regarded the essence of war. The industrialised warfare of the twentieth century, however, has levelled the differences between frontline and native soil, soldier and civilian, military operation and genocide. In other words: the walls that used to surround the theatre of war have crumbled – and the narrative and figurative ‘walls’ around war literature have crumbled as well. Traditional ‘combat-oriented’ war narratives are nowadays primarily to be found in films and computer games, while literature has sought out other paths in its attempt to describe this troublesome subject.

In this paper I will present one of the most influential of these paths, namely the one leading out of the combat zone and into the human body, meditating on the corporeal consequences and describing the several mediations of war rather than re-enacting the events as experienced immediately on the battlefield. A comparison of two of the most conspicuous examples of combat- and body-oriented war literature illustrates this change in the poetics of war writing: In Stahlgewittern (1920) by Ernst Jünger and Austerlitz (2001) by W.G. Sebald. Writing in the immediate aftermath of World War One, Jünger tries to bring his reader into the ecstasy and danger of the combat zone, adjusting a chivalric conception of war to attrition warfare and thus clearing the way for the image of modern warfare as seen in several later novels and films. Written decades after World War Two, Sebald’s poetics of indirection, on the other hand, shows not only the unbridgeable gap between experiencing and describing war. Sebald also dramatises the appalling effects of this gap by presenting a human body haunted by unintelligible traces and images from the belligerent past.
The Greek Civil War (1946-1949), which is closely linked to World War II and is widely considered as one of the first episodes of the Cold War on European soil, has been on the focus of cinematography in Greece on many occasions, as it has also been the case for WWII. The representation of both major events on the screen has varied according to the political and social situation in the country. We can briefly outline three distinct periods with the following characteristics:

a) the period until 1974, characterised by the reigning ideology of the victors of the Civil War, resulted in highly patriotic views of WWII and the marginalization of the Civil War;

b) the period from 1974 (year of the fall of the military dictatorship) to the 1990s, marked by the rise of the Socialist Party, the legitimatization of the Communist Party and the official recognition of the Resistance against the Nazi occupation of Greece, produced some alternative ways of representing WWII, and, most importantly, it brought the culmination of the interest (both in cinematography and the public dialogue) on the Greek Civil War;

c) the most recent years (1990s-today), marked by the rising interest of historiographical research for both subjects, which is the principal factor of influence for the shaping of the public opinion and memory in the present.

We intend to examine the following aspects:

1) The forms of representation of the two events in different periods. Correlations and divergences.

2) The impact of these cinematographic representations in the forming of collective memory.

3) Implementation in our cases of the recent theories on the role of films dealing with traumatic events of history, that introduce, among other things, the notion of “prosthetic memory”.

4) The relationship between historiographical and cinematographic production and the limits between history and fiction in relevant films.

Soviet Belarus gained a reputation as the “Partisan Republic”. After its near-total destruction, firstly under Stalinist terror and then under Nazi military occupation, Belarus was reconstructed as the “most Soviet of all the Soviet republics”, with its ideological foundations firmly based on the partisan myth. Films and television dramas depicted he-
roic resistance, official historiography painted a one-dimensional picture of martyrdom and struggle. In literature, many of the non-conformist writers also bound themselves to the theme of war, although the best of them (e.g. Bykau, Adamovich, Bryl) created genuinely human characters in stories that showed the horrors, rather than the glory, of warfare.

In post-independence Belarus, the symbolic limitations around the depiction of the partisan became significantly more relaxed, as censorship of literature was discontinued under the new regime. In historiography, it became possible to subject the partisans to a critical gaze, exposing, for example, atrocities committed by them. The famous film “Mysterium Occupation” (2003) by Andrei Kudzinenka transferred this re-interpretation to the cinematic screen - and for that very reason was banned by the government (see Lewis 2011, forthcoming). The word “partisan” was symbolically appropriated for oppositional activities, as the dictatorial state of Aliaksandr Lukashenka became associated with yet another colonial occupation. Thus, for example, an independent magazine on contemporary culture was launched by the artist Artur Klinau under the name “pARTisan”.

This paper examines some of the more creative ways in which the partisan myth has been debunked and re-imagined in contemporary culture, for example in the mockingly humorous poetry of Khadanovich, and the tragi-comic lyrics of the rock band N.R.M. Making fun of Soviet war myths is politically fraught under a regime which legitimates itself using Soviet values. It constitutes a fundamental principle of waging memory war in the present.

Lloyd, Christopher (University of Durham), ‘Soldiers’ tales: defeat, imprisonment and combat in World War Two France’

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Nearly two million French soldiers were captured by the Germans following the defeat and armistice in June 1940, the majority of them remaining prisoners of war until 1945. A smaller contingent of French citizens was involved in military combat between the 1940 armistice and German capitulation in 1945: some of them were collaborators who joined units of the LVF and Waffen-SS and fought under German command on the Eastern Front, while others fought with the reconstituted French army during the Allies’ final onslaught on Germany in 1944-45. Their experiences have been recorded in a large number of novels and semi-fictional memoirs, yet this corpus has received very little critical attention. The aim of this paper is to offer a general overview of this work in terms of its documentary and literary interest, particularly regarding Franco-German relations, and then to offer more detailed analysis of key texts dealing with defeat, combat and imprisonment (e.g. Ambrière, Perret, Sajer).
Löschnigg, Martin (University of Graz, Austria), ‘“Lest We Forget”: Remembering the First World War in Contemporary Anglo-Canadian Fiction’

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After almost a hundred years, the First World War continues to hold its place in the Canadian collective imagination, representing a major crisis and, at the same time, an important step on the country’s way to nationhood. In the literature of Canada, the First World War has been remembered in poetry and drama, and in numerous novels. In my paper, I shall discuss how Canadian novels about the Great War have transported and/or undermined two potent and conflicting myths about the war, a nation-building myth which emphasizes the identitary significance and the homogenizing effect of Canada’s participation in a just war, and a myth which is based on societal divisions engendered by the war, separating those who had first-hand experience of the trenches from those who had not. In particular, I shall comment on renderings of these myths, and on the remembrance of the Great War, in novels by Jane Urquhart (The Stone Carvers, 2001), Jack Hodgins (Broken Ground, 1998), Joseph Boyden (Three Day Road, 2005), Alan Cumyn (The Sojourn, 2003) and Frances Itani (Deafening, 2003). As I will show, these novels are based on an iconography of the war which has been conveyed by ‘classics’ of cultural history such as Paul Fussell’s The Great War and Modern Memory (1975) and which, in turn, they help to anchor in the Canadian collective consciousness. The authors’ renderings of their themes reflect a conflict between two ‘master narratives’, as it were, in the country’s collective memory of the First World War, that of the war as a milestone on the road to nationhood, and that of an apocalypse whose horrors defeat description.

Lusek, Joanna & Goetze, Albrecht (Central Museum of POWs, Lambinowice), ‘Coincidentia Oppositorum or Music as a key to memory’

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Olivier Messiaen (1908–1992), not only important as one of the leading French composers of the last century, but also as the influential teacher (The Messiaen Class) of the generation after 1945 (Boulez/Xenakis/Stockhausen/Benjamin et al.) finished his QUARTET FOR THE END OF TIME during his captivity as POW in StaLag VIIIa at Görlitz-Moys (since 1945 Zgorzelec-Ujazd) from June 1940 to March 1941 and premiered it there in the theatre-barrack on 15. January 1941.

It is now his most famous work and helped to save 14 000 m² of the original 30 000 m² of the former POW-Camp StaLag VIIIa as a ‘memory-landscape’ and area where the European centre for Culture and Education Zgorzelec-Görlitz MEETINGPOINT MUSIC MESSIAEN is going to be established and built (Architect Ruairi O’Brien) as a binational project of Poland and Germany.
We propose a lecture connected to the interaction between historical accounts and cultural representations of war and/or Transcultural Memory in the twentieth century introducing the composition and its influence not only on composing in the second half of the 20th century, but as well on conception, pedagogic, historical and artistic work with conductors (Antoni Wit/Myung-Whun Chung/Robin Ticciati/Vladimir Jurowski/Paavo Järvi/Sakkari Oramo et al.), musicians (Jascha Nemtsov/Shirley Brill/Kid Armstrong et al.), orchestras (Filharmonia Narodowa/Staatskapelle Dresden et al.) and the young generation of the twintown Görlitz-Zgorzelec and the trinational region (PL/CZ/D). It comprises the following themes:

- Educational work on memory and in connection with Łambinowice and Kzryżowa (Memory-Triangle)
- POW-Camp StaLag VIIIa
- Olivier Messiaen and his QUARTET FOR THE END OF TIME
- Music as a key to memory and the entire conception and work of MEETINGPOINT MUSIC MESSIAEN

Marqués-Martin, Claudia (University of Aberdeen), ‘Remembering to forget or forgetting to be remembered? The Self-construction of Female Identity during and after the Spanish Civil War’

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The Spanish Civil War marked a huge internal, external, political and social rupture in Spain. At this time, the social and the political intersected with the subjective, and nation and gender inflected the reflexive representation of lived experience. War-focused life-writing and the study of the female subject in a period where war had the potential to destabilise traditional women’s roles and identities remains an under-researched topic within Hispanic studies. This paper will focus on how the lives of individuals, and more specifically women, were discursively constructed and reflexively represented in relation to large-scale political, social and economic contexts, drawing upon life-writing and the memoir during and after this cataclysmic conflict. To explore the construction and reflexive representations of the self, this paper will draw upon the memoirs of those women who belonged to Franco’s elite regime. In particular, it will focus on two women who played a key role in women’s identification: Pilar Primo de Rivera and Mercedes Sanz Bachiller. The aim is to analyse how these two women, the former being the Falange founder’s sister and the latter the J.O.N.S founder’s widow, appropriated Spanish fascism, based on a male dominant discourse, as a tool for self-representation as women and as politicians. The paper will pay specific attention to these contradictions and crossovers in order to understand how they created, recreated and modified a politicised feminine identity. At the same time, we will see how and to what extent, the journey of those women through memory has fulfilled the need to be understood, as exemplified in Leydesdorff et al.’s Gender & Memory.”“[e]very story deals with that which
the culture wants to remember and to forget on the level of the individual psychology, the ways people tell about memories and the ways they like to be seen.”

**Martin, Nancy** (University of Oxford) ‘It’s MEN We Want’: Representations of Masculinity, Subjectivity and Soldiering in First World War Writing

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In May of 1915, Britain’s Parliamentary Recruiting Committee published what would arguably be the First World War’s most iconic propagandist image. The poster, created by E.P. Kealey, presents two women standing at an open window, watching a group of soldiers leave for war; the two women—mother and daughter—cling to each other, while a small child stands at their feet. The poster’s caption proclaims: ‘Women of Britain say “Go!”’ This image provides a clear portrait of acceptable—and therefore patriotic—gender relations in wartime. First, it provides a visual representation of the patriotic mother, the keystone of the government’s attempts to control women’s behavior on the home front. The first ‘duty’ of this patriotic mother was to produce sons; the second was to willingly sacrifice them for the good of the country. Second, the image functions in reminding British men of their duty as men. For to be worthy of (or desired by) the idealized patriotic woman, the heroic man had to bravely fight, kill, and even die for ideals of his country. Such strict gender scripts reflect the government’s attempt to maintain social order in a time of chaos.

And yet, while this calculated maintenance of gender order was meant to control the behavior of men and women during the war—ensuring their participation and support—literary texts and memoirs of the period constantly represent the war years as troubling categories of male and female identity. This troubling of gender categories, as it relates to representations of men and masculinity, is the focus of my paper. Through close analysis of war texts written by male combatants (both well-known and forgotten), I argue that while such strictly polarized gender constructs were meant to unify the nation, they in fact functioned in dividing and fragmenting the subjectivity of individuals. Indeed, far from an overt acceptance or rejection of cultural representations—as has often been argued in contemporary criticism—combatant writing reflects a complex and often traumatic oscillation between traditional codes of masculinity and a more modern, self-reflexive conception of self.

In order to demonstrate this I will first explore the men’s individual reasons for enlisting and how this decision was articulated in relation to cultural representations of heroic masculinity (as seen in recruitment posters, advertisements and newspapers). I will then turn to the letters, memoirs and fiction of men who served on the Western Front, focusing specifically on moments of self-reflection, as these men attempted to navigate the jarring disjunction between ideology and lived experience. Finally, I will conclude by discussing the ways in which such combatant writing functions in challenging British national and collective memories of the First World War.
**McAvoy, Eva Nieto (Birkbeck, University of London), ‘Reading the Spanish Civil War: Arturo Barea, the British Left and Spanish Cultural Memory’**

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The paper will analyse the reception of the work of the Spanish Republican exile Arturo Barea (Spain, 1897-Britain, 1957), The Forging of a Rebel. The novel is an autobiographical trilogy about his experiences of the Spanish Civil War and the events leading up to it. First published during Barea’s exile in Britain with Faber & Faber and edited by T.S. Eliot, the novel was not to be printed in Spanish until it was published in Argentina in 1951 and in Spain in 1977 for the first time, after Franco’s death. Based on the principle that any interpretation of exile products should be at least a bi-national project, I intend to reconsider the importance of not only the homeland (Spain) but also the host state (Britain) for the reception of Barea’s recollection of the Spanish Civil War.

On the one hand I suggest identifying the mechanisms by which Barea’s narrative was inscribed in a wider antifascist discourse of the British Left in the aftermath of what was considered by many as the “Last Great Cause” and in particular its links to George Orwell’s Homage to Catalonia. In this sense, one could argue that the novel partakes in the construction of British cultural memory, where the Spanish Civil War was of major importance.

On the other hand, the paper will focus on the reception of Barea’s work in Spain, looking at it through the lens of Spanish literary criticism and historiography during Francoism, Transition and Democracy. It aims to analyse the underlying ideology of the interpretations of Barea’s work and to therefore problematize the category of “cultural products of exile”, insofar as they have been (or not) integrated in said historiography. To better exemplify this phenomenon, the paper will also deal with the TV adaptation of La forja de un rebelde (1990), and its place within the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain.

**McCaulay, Christine (University of Westminster), ‘The tip of the iceberg’**

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In Britain the same war artists and images of war appeared repeatedly providing a consistent but very narrow narrative of both WW1 and WW2. As an artist whose work is concerned with war and memory, not an historian, I am familiar with the diversity of what constitutes ‘war art’. The work of women, illustrators and artists of other nationalities feature minimally in the British national war narrative and many works languish in the vaults of major institutions.

This restricted view of war art has a profound effect on the way in which individual and collective memories of war are framed, transmitted and can evolve and change.
There are a number of factors in this process of editing and omission, some are practical, how accessible the work is to researchers, how easy is it to get copyright permission and the availability of gallery space. Others reflect national self-image, vested interests and artistic hierarchies.

The national perspective affects what war art is displayed and collected and rarely shows other points of view. Notions of what are ‘significant’ works of art can reflect both historical and contemporary prejudices of disciplines, media and gender. Work commissioned by large institutions results in there being a vested self-interest in promoting some work over others. The way ‘war art’ is exhibited in specialist institutions effects how work is shown and how it is contextualized. Which events are considered to have military and national significance, and which are considered peripheral, or politically sensitive result in some work rarely being seen.

I would argue that our narrow and pre-selected access to war art restricts our ability to evaluate the nature of conflict and war’s effect on individuals, the nation-state and our relationships with the rest of the world.

McInerney, Eloise (Trinity College Dublin), ‘What about the moderates? Recovering the memory of the ‘third Spain’ in Antonio Muñoz Molina’s La noche de los tiempos (2009)’

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Since the mid-1990s in Spain, a resurgence of interest in the history of the Spanish Civil War and Francoist dictatorship, has resulted in a boom of cultural and historiographical production relating to the subject. There has been a particularly strong desire to reawaken the memory of the Republican losers of the war, and to expose the cruelty and extent of the repression exerted upon them by the Francoist winners. This has sometimes has led to a romanticisation of the Republican cause and a redrawing of manichean divisions between the two sides in a manner reminiscent of early portrayals. Antonio Muñoz Molina in his most recent novel, La noche de los tiempos, seeks to stir up a different memory, however, one which contests these idealised representations. It is the memory of the moderate ‘third Spain’, whose existence has been consistently denied by the oft-repeated cliché of the ‘two Spains’ eternally at war. Drawing on a Bakhtinian understanding of language and ideology in the novel, this paper will show how a diverse range of socially representative characters are used to produce a vision of the past that resists romantic idealisation of the Second Republic. Instead, it is one which condemns the violent intransigence of both the radical left and right in the months leading up to and following the outbreak of war, while vindicating the memory of the many who stood for peace, dialogue and political compromise, sometimes at the cost of their lives.
McNamara, Antoinette (University of Limerick), ‘Rewriting the Past in Marcel Beyer’s *Flughunde* - but to what End?’

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‘*Flughunde* occupies a unique, […] position in contemporary German literature and among representations of National Socialism in particular in that, […], it is a work of fiction set during the Nazi period written by someone without any direct biographical experience of it.’ (Schmitz, 2004: 125) In light of this, Beyer interestingly opens a dialogue apropos the significance of the voice within the narrative itself with the premise that ‘we all bear scars on our vocal cords. They take shape in the course of a lifetime, and every utterance, […] leaves its mark there’ (Beyer, 1995: 11). This paper suggests that Beyer has incorporated accounts of situations which could be interpreted as demanding some kind of Aufarbeitung or reworking, evidenced in Karnau’s obsession to ‘capture’ the human voice.

Furthermore, the inclusion of seemingly ‘trivial’ events intensified through the character bound focalisation of Karnau as well as Beyer borrowing from the semantic field of warfare ‘reproduces the extermination fantasies of the Nazis;’ (Schmitz, 2004: 130) whilst also adding a further metafictional dimension in the sense of a dialogue which assumes prior knowledge of the reader. The lack of authorial comment assigns these onto the level of reception. This literary device results in instances with which the reader can more easily identify and thus consider his/her own possible reactions, while also mimicking the silence of many that followed.

Beyer broaches this subject matter by incorporating a contained depiction of attitudes towards and approaches endeavoured as a means of coming to terms with the National Socialist past. This paper will thus analyse the narrative techniques employed with a view to exploring the function thereof both within the text as well as identifying the role(s) such a text can play in terms of how the past is remembered, considering the various metafictional elements incorporated.

Mondini, Marco (ISIG – FBK / University of Padua), ‘A still noble war: Collective Memory in the Italian Narrative of War (1915-1960)’

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Among Italian historians, it is widely accepted that the end of the Second World War, – the inglorious defeat with the collapse of the State in 1943, the civilian conflict and the rise of the Republic – marks a break with the traditional view of the significance of the war. The starting point is the conviction that one of the main changes in post-1945 Italian public opinion has been the disappearance of a shared cultural paradigm that not only identified the war with a recurring and unavoidable event in the history of communities, but considered the participation in the defence of the community, as
well as the demonstration of one's courage in battle, as a laboratory of the individual's and the citizen's virtues.

However, 1945 is not a sort of Urkatastrophe in the Italian war culture. The crisis of the representation of the memory, and consequently of the collective perception of the war, was much slower in the circuits of mass communication. In fact, the belief according to which, after the Second World War, the Italian “public discourse” becomes thoroughly “pacifist” is based on a misunderstanding of the field of mass culture and on an underestimation of the persistence of traditional patterns in literature and in mass media, too. Despite the deep impact of the collective mourning on public opinion, the diffusion of a properly pacifist or anti-militarist political discourse in Italy was rather limited until the 1960s. Moreover, the agencies of mass culture (writers; film-makers; journalists; cartoonists) in most cases continue to present a traditional image of war and of combatants: in spite of the great success of masterpieces like Rossellini’s film Roma città aperta (1945) or Calvino’s novel Il sentiero dei nidi di ragno (1947), the ‘process of victimization’ does not immediately become hegemonic in the Italian tale of war. In most of the books or films dedicated to the war until 1968 (many of them on the Great War and a small number on the Resistenza), the protagonist is a canonical warrior hero, a masculine courageous noble-minded leader who gloriously fights for the liberty and greatness of his Patria, according to archetypes of traditional gender and ideological narratives already in use in literature and film production between 1915 and 1945.

Building on a wide-ranging analysis of 20th-century Italian war literature, films and comics that I have carried out for my book Armi ed eroi. La Guerra nella cultura italiana del Novecento (Einaudi, forthcoming in 2012), my paper aims to demonstrate the complexities and contradictions that shape the construction of the war remembrance process in Italian contemporary culture.

**Morley, Joel (Queen Mary, University of London), ‘Passed from Father to Son: The Transmission of Great War Narratives in Britain, 1918 to 1945’**

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Many of the British men who were to fight in the Second World War grew up in interwar Britain, where multiple and conflicting representations of the First World War proliferated in popular culture. Often, young men also knew veterans of the First World War who, to varying degrees, transmitted their own memories and representations of the war orally within the private sphere. Drawing from my PhD research, which will be in its concluding stages by September 2012, I will discuss what First World War veterans narrated to young men, and particularly what veteran fathers narrated to sons, by examining the oral histories of over 100 Second World War veterans. I will examine how commonly veterans shared their narratives with young men, and the contexts in which this occurred: during their childhood; at the outbreak of the Second World War;
or when young men approached enlistment. The various ways in which veterans presented the war in their narratives will be elucidated, whether particular depictions of the war were more commonly disseminated will be considered, and I will examine the relationship between the forces in which veterans served and the content and tone of their First World War narratives. Finally, I will briefly discuss whether veterans’ narratives can be seen to inform the attitudes and service preferences of young men anticipating service in the Second World War, and comment on the frequency of Second World War veterans’ references to both oral and other cultural representations of the First World War.

Neill, Peter (University of Ulster), ‘Re-imaging and modern memory of the Great War’

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The paper examines and contextualises the results of practice-led research into the Great War experience of Irish landowner and soldier, Col. Robert David Perceval-Maxwell (13 Royal Irish Rifles). It makes use of several parallel narratives: the Estate Manager’s daily record, the official war history, War Diaries and Perceval-Maxwell’s personal correspondence to his wife, mother and children.

The research investigates both the differences and the similarities between agricultural estate management and the overseeing of a foreign military campaign. It visually interrogates how twentieth-century conflict transformed neutral landscape from a function of cultivation and animal husbandry to that of defence, aggression, military support and infrastructure. I have used photographic methods to (re)present the existing post-war terrain and to examine how artistic intervention and production can re-interpret established historical parameters and viewpoints. The gradual, stealthy and surreptitious reconstruction of the theatre of the conflict continues as the land quietly recovers and heals itself from the physical wounds inflicted almost one hundred years ago.

The practical and emotional post-war reaction to the conflict was the construction and rapid establishment of numerous war cemeteries to contain and honour the human sacrifice. Here, I make a visual comparison between Perceval-Maxwell’s ‘home’ land, which he passionately cared for, and his militarily adopted land which he dutifully managed as a professional soldier. The photographic study compares the former theatre of war with that of his estate in Ireland and examines real and perceived traces of visual evidence to re-evaluate modern memory of the conflict.
Norris, Nanette (Royal Military College St-Jean Quebec, Canada), ‘Diasporic Identity Construction: The Life Writing of a WWII German Veteran in Canada’

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This paper will interrogate the role of transcultural memory in the post-traumatic identity construction of a German WWII veteran now living in Canada. The subject was given the opportunity to verbalize his narrative, using the BNIM method of eliciting life writing. The narrative offered a précis of war experiences, with an emphasis on post-war activity and relationships. Preliminary conclusions suggest accommodation to both physical and psychological trauma through relocation in the diaspora. However, the subject was willing to reconstruct within strict limits. He maintained specific mores and values as essential to his sense of self, such as ambition, hard work, owning land, developing the land. He chose to live in proximity to other Germanic people, and continued to identify himself as, from Sudetenland. More key is the fact that he signalled, over and again, a need to reveal the problematic and traumatic past. Three specific constructions emerged: first, a persistent, vituperative antisemitism; second, the elision of hegemony in slave-labour relations with the Polish people during the war, somewhat accommodated or, in his mind, at least, rectified in the present with a Polish housekeeper/wife; third, total acceptance of all actions required by the war, such as working in a camp which held French prisoners. Through his tone and behaviour, the subject denied or refused a problematic reading of the narrative. As Astrid Erll points out, “the distinction between an experiencing, I’ and a narrating, I’ already rests on a (largely implicit) concept of memory, namely on the idea that there is a difference between pre-narrative experience on the one hand, and, on the other, narrative memory which creates meaning retrospectively.”

Opiola, Wojciech (Opole University), ‘Your war, our remembrance – Polish disputes concerning the Spanish Civil War’

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The Spanish Civil War is, for a Pole, a distant fact, which has not engraved itself strongly in Poles’ individual memories. Thus it is easy to take advantage of it within current politics as a tool for making political capital. Ways of remembering this war in Poland have always been imposed and ideologized, and this is how it has been functioning up to this day.

4 See Simon Schama, Landscape and Memory, for a discussion of the importance of land to the Germanic culture.
In my recent thesis, based on analysis of political journalism, I present the ways of creating different sets of Polish remembrance concerning the Spanish Civil War and taking instrumental advantage of them. One might enumerate two main paths of discourse about the war in Poland: the one originating in Catholic circles, built around the assumption that the war was antireligious; and the one concerning Polish volunteers fighting for the International Brigades, based on the idea that the war was a form of defence against fascism.

The case of Poland shows how distant events, both geographically and historically, might be taken advantage of as an attempt to make political capital within the current state of political affairs, and how ideology and political interest influence common remembrance.

O’Reilly, Declan (University of East Anglia), ‘Constructing Heroines: the George Cross and Women SOE Agents 1942-1950’

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Between 1942 and 1944 Special Operations Executive, the secret British sabotage organisation, sent thirty-nine women into the field as soldiers in the clandestine conflict to free France. In recent years, their contribution to the success of this underground war has become better known, but even by 1950 a small number of them had achieved almost legendary status. The four most famous were Odette Sansom, later Odette Churchill, a French-born mother of three living in Somerset, Violette Szabo the half-French daughter of a London taxi driver, Nancy Wake, a New Zealand journalist who married Henri Fiocca in Marseilles 1940, and Noor Inyat Khan, the Kremlin-born daughter of an American mother and an Indian mystic father. A fifth, Christine Granville, was even more interesting. In reality, she was the Polish Countess Krystina Skarbek, who came to SOE after an adventurous career fighting the Germans in both Poland and Hungary. Her English name was the gift of the British ambassador to Hungary who gave her a UK passport to enable her to escape from the Gestapo. They all achieved distinction while serving in SOE. Three, Odette, Noor Inyat Khan and Violette Szabo won the George Cross, with Nancy Wake and Christine Granville receiving the George Medal as well as a number of other French and American decorations. Britain was hardly short of heroes between 1939 and 1945, but these five women were unique, and their fame is bound up in their ambivalent status as combatants.

Each was the subject of a successful book and film. These created and perpetuated myths about both the SOE and the women themselves, which are hard to disentangle. Jerard Tickel retold Odette Churchill’s experiences in a book called Odette, The Story of a British Agent published in 1947. Noor Inyat Khan’s biography was first published in 1953 under her codename Madeline. So successful was this book that its later paperback edition was re-titled Born for Sacrifice. Russell Brandon, a noted popular author of the 1950s, wrote Nancy Wake in 1955 while R. J. Miney published Carve Her Name With Pride,
a sentimental biography of Violette Szabo, largely based on reminiscences by her family and a few of her erstwhile SOE colleagues. Christine Granville found a sympathetic biographer only in the 1970s twenty years after she was murdered in a west London hotel. Each of these works can be seen as reflecting different stages in Britain’s changing role in the world after 1945. Disquiet over their fates and SOE’s other dead caused the British government to commission an official history, for publication, of a secret organisation, from the then still secret archives held in Whitehall; a unique event not repeated until the open government initiative in the 1990s. Published to both acclaim and controversy in 1966, M.R.D. Foot’s magisterial SOE in France remains the most authoritative work on Britain’s contribution to French resistance and the clandestine war against Nazi rule.

This paper sets out to explore the myth and reality of these women’s contribution both to the war and to Britishness. Their Englishness was questionable, but they fought and died as British and, in an age when women did not fight, their actions stand in an ambivalent relationship to women who stayed at home and accepted the role allocated to them by history.

Pajevic, Marko (Queen’s University Belfast), ‘Arno Schmidt and the abyss of National Socialism: the end of Romanticism.’

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Arno Schmidt is a maverick in post-war German literature, cultivating his image as a genial hermit, ferociously criticising German society and seeking his refuge in literature. His first publication, Leviathan (1949), shows how National Socialism led German society to a position over an abyss with no redemption. The novel Brand’s Haide (1951) demonstrates the impossibility of Romantic love in the misery of the immediate post-war period in Germany. Schmidt distorts Romantic motifs such as the moon and by the depiction of his largely autobiographical hero who is engaged in research on the Romantic German writer Fouqué, thus demonstrating a paradigm shift in life-forms and human relations after the experience of National Socialism and World War II.

Pakier, Małgorzata (Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities), ‘Jews, women, ordinary people… The supporting characters in Polish ‘memory cinema’ before and after 1989’

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In analyzing films, the focus is usually placed on the primary stage, the main protagonists. This presentation will depart from that approach to discuss what is peripheral in Polish memory cinema: the supporting characters. While Polish films dealing with
the events of World War II that were produced during the Polish People’s Republic, including the Polish Film School, emphasized heroism and suffering, their leading characters usually consisted of ethnic Poles, males, noble heroes fighting in the underground or at the military front. Since 1989 this focus has gradually changed, corresponding to the evolution of Polish public debate towards more self-criticism and diversity. In place of heroic exemplars, the trend has been toward the depiction of ‘ordinary people’ as leading characters. And in place of men we increasingly see women. Meanwhile films have appeared casting Jewish characters in the lead, with Holocaust-related plot threads. To view the trends in the post-1989 Polish cinema I will focus on such films as ‘Just beyond this Forest’ by Jan Łomnicki (Jeszcze tylko ten las, 1991), ‘Far Away from the Window’ by Jan J. Kolski (Daleko od okna, 2000), ‘Joanna’ by Feliks Falk (2010), and ‘In Darkness’ by Agnieszka Holland (W ciemności, 2011).

The purpose of this presentation, which is part of a broader book project, is to show the redefinitions of Polish memory and identity after 1989 by analyzing the shifts in focus between supporting and leading characters, understood as phenomenological categories. The peripheral is always defined with reference to the center, and vice versa. Observing the shift in this dichotomy, I will analyze which topics and which characters were previously imagined as not the leading ones, albeit still being of importance to the extent that they were at least present in the background. That is, while not completely absent, they were introduced as the meaningful Other. Secondary characters are also portrayed as more stereotyped, less nuanced, thereby providing an access to collective imagination on their most characteristic traits.

The presentation will take the form of an overview discussion of a couple of representative films produced before and after 1989 and their portrayals of supporting vs. leading characters, with reference to the dichotomies: heroes / ordinary people; men / women; Poles / Jews.

Perret, Caroline (University of Westminster), ‘Confronting History: Jean Dubuffet’s Tableaux et Dessins Exhibition (October-November 1944)’

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Exhibited at the Galerie Drouin when France was in the process of being liberated, Jean Dubuffet’s Marionnettes de la Ville et de la Campagne Series (1942-44), was first commented upon by intellectuals who had been engaged in intellectual and active Resistance during the Occupation, among them Arland, Gabriel, Parrot, and Paulhan.

Such reviews were to be found in Poésie 44 and in the unique cahier of Le Spectateur des Arts of December 1944. The general content of the magazines will be closely examined as they reveal the historical, political and philosophical context in which Dubuffet’s series was made. Published outside German control in the South, Poésie 44, for instance, aimed at expressing the belief in human nature, ‘fraternity’ and ‘honour’ in its hope for freedom in the face of oppression. Together with Parrot’s essay for the exhibi-
tion catalogue, we will also observe in these texts how Dubuffet’s artistic production was considered by his immediate artistic and intellectual circle to express not only the countless horrors committed during WWII, but also the more mundane everyday aspect of occupied life in France.

The paper will however dig deeper than the literal testimony of Dubuffet’s paintings and argue that what attracted its main supporters was the fact that the work treated the drama of war in a suggestive manner thanks to its explicitly experimental use of the artistic matter. For Limbour in ‘Jean Dubuffet ou l’Imagination de la Matière’ (May 1945), such exploration involved the viewer beyond aesthetic contemplation into a greater imaginative space. This acknowledgement of the viewer, it is contended, posits the work at this elusive moment between end of war and post-liberation in which its meaning shifts away from an introspective analysis of past and recent events to an art reflective of humanist values which would announce a better future in the new spirit of Reconstruction.

**Pető, Andrea (Central European University, Budapest), ‘“Theaters of Justice and Narration”: testimonies about the transitional justice after World War II in Europe.**

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The paper explores the ways in which survivors and participants of the post-World War II trials remember the legal process of justice. The paper is based on video testimonies collected by the Visual History Archive, Los Angeles. Special emphasis will be paid on methodological problems of using video testimonies for historical research. In a wider context, the paper summarizes the tendencies that inform the construction of World War II memory in the legalist framework based on documents produced by the people’s tribunals.

**Piątkowska, Renata (Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw), ‘Shoah in the works by Marek Oberländer’**

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The Shoah continues to be an important theme of Polish art. For survivors it is not merely a theme but a necessity, a profound inner need to face up to the enormity and cruelty of the death of millions of human beings, the annihilation of a people and their old way of life. Artists, like all other survivors, battled against despair, a sense of guilt; they had to learn how to live with the experience of the Shoah. In those post-war years it was even more difficult, they searched for a personal language to express “the inexpressible” through art.
In the Stalinist years, the official art, constrained by the Communist ideology and the Socialist Realist form, excluded any experiments with original and modern means of artistic expression. In the official discourse, this subject was practically limited to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The 1955 “National Exhibition of ‘Young’ Art,” which opened under the title “Against the War, Against Fascism” in the Arsenal in Warsaw, marked a turning-point in Polish art.

For Marek Oberländer, who actively participated in preparing the Arsenal exhibition, the most important subject was the Holocaust. He spent the war in the Soviet Union, first in the Red Army, later in a penal camp. Thus, he did not witness the Shoah directly, and his works draw on documentary photographs taken by German soldiers. The documentary presentation of the subject in his works is disturbing. These works of art are more than a testimony to the Shoah: they express the feelings of a Jew who miraculously survived the annihilation of his people. They are an entirely new record of Jewish martyrdom, absent until then in Polish art in such a form and with such emotional intensity.


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The objective of the paper is to examine the Spanish Civil War fiction of the last ten years - its commitment to recover memory and its purpose to renew the narrative patterns of telling history. The analysed texts discuss the possibilities of an aesthetic appropriation of the past and the ambiguous nature of the truth. Grounded in a subjective, present perspective, the ‘postmemory’ writers in Spain resort to a range of innovative narrative techniques, like Javier Cercas’s «true tale», the intertextual, polyphonic strategies of Isaac Rosa, the general involvement of the authors (and the narrators) with the plot exposing its fictional illusion, the frequent use of the metafictional device, the play with conventions, etc. The paper would refer to the novels of Javier Cercas, Dulce Chacón, Javier Marías, Ignacio Martínez de Pisón, Alberto Méndez, Juan Manuel de Prada, Manuel Rivas, Isaac Rosa, Jordi Soler and others.

Raaijmakers, Ilse (Maastricht University), ‘National commemorations and counterculture in Dutch cultural memory of the Second World War’

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‘Dynamics’ is one of the new central terms in the field of memory studies. After having described different types of memories for several decades, scholars in recent years have directed their attention at practices of cultural memory. This has been poignantly
summarized by Jeffrey K. Olick (2008) as ‘memory is something you do, not something you have’. From this starting point, I intend to look at commemoration as an activity.

In my paper I will focus on the representation of the war during commemorations on May 4 and 5 in the Netherlands. These days are the national remembrance days of the Second World War. On the 4th of May all Dutch war victims are commemorated; on the 5th of May liberation from German occupation is celebrated. I concentrate on the period 1945-1975, which encompasses the transition from a uniform national commemoration culture centered around hero-worship to a multiform commemoration culture mainly focusing on victims.

With the aid of the concept of ‘performativity’, I analyse how the representation of the war becomes visible in and how it is transmitted through diverse rituals. In these commemorative rituals, both continuity and discontinuity can be observed. In the 40s and 50s they were designed as expressing ‘the spirit of the resistance’. In the 60s and 70s however, the very same rituals were used for different meanings. Multiple memory cultures could then exist side by side: Simultaneously honouring the resistance fighters and expressing horrification at the memory of war cruelties, especially the Holocaust. A new generation experimented with ‘alternative’ ways of commemorating the war. Thus came into being, as an alternative proposed against official commemorations, the mode of commemorations as political demonstrations.

Through an analysis of events during commemorations, I will show ‘how memory works’, rather than simply what content is given to them. By tracing trajectories of memory across groups, generations and subcultures, I will show that commemorations as official discourse and commemorations as expressions of counterculture were in a fluid process of interaction.

Rosenberg, Pnina (Technion Haifa, Israel), 'From Mice to Mickey to Maus: The Metamorphosis of the mice/mouse in Holocaust art'

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In a manipulative scene of swarming rats in a sewer, accompanied by provocative narration, the Nazi propaganda film The Eternal Jew (Der Ewige Jude), clearly identifies the animal with the filthy, corrupt Jew, whose only intent is to destroy the world. This motif, provides the logic that lies behind the need to eliminate the Jew in order to protect mankind.

Ironically, Disney’s mouse, Mickey, was incarnated in Horst Rosenthal’s booklet as a Holocaust inmate. Rosenthal (1915-1942), who was one of the victims of this virulent propaganda, created Micky Mouse in Gurs Internment Camp 1942 (Mickey au camp de Gurs) while he himself was imprisoned in the French camp. He unfolded the prisoner’s (hi)story from the Hollywood protagonist’s point of view, knowing only too well that a happy ending exists only in a fictitious world.
Rosenthal’s Mickey could be regarded as the forerunner of Spiegelman’s comic *Maus* (1986; 1991), which narrates his father Vladeck’s biography as *A Survivor’s Tale*. Those allegorical stories depict the Holocaust as a cat-and-mouse struggle – Jews (mice) vs. Germans (cats). However, Vladeck’s survival can be interpreted as an ironic inversion of this eternal battle.

Unlike most contemporary Holocaust graphic novels, their predecessors Rosenthal and Spiegelman created a non-fictional account of either their first-hand experience (Rosenthal) or their ancestor’s oral testimony (Spiegelman). Yet, instead of narrating them as “realistic” stories, they produced analogical spheres that resemble folk-tales, a device that creates a poetic distance from the abnormal Holocaust world either experienced (Rosenthal) or memorized and marked through the familial legacy (Spiegelman).

By analyzing Rosenthal’s and Spiegelman’s graphic novels strategies, the paper will present the multi-faceted image of mice in the Holocaust visual lexicon– and its transformation from the emblem of all evil to the symbol of the victims as well as the survivors.

**Salvante, Martina (Trinity College, Dublin), ‘What posthumous memory of war disablement? Some reflections on war, remembrance and disability as seen from Italy in the aftermath of the Great War’**

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As a consequence of the Great War, millions of men all over the globe returned home limbless, sightless, deaf, disfigured or mentally distressed. They were ‘the Great War’s most conspicuous legacy’ (Cohen 2001). These men happened, therefore, to embody the destructiveness of war and performed as human and living ‘sites of memory’ (Winter 1995). Because of their heralded heroism in the battlefields, shattered soldiers, however, were commonly considered worthy and in need of an (economic and medical) assistance that disabled civilians had not experienced beforehand.

Despite mutilated and handicapped veterans have always been involved in the remembrance rituals of the Great War, they have never been the focal point of any commemoration. If individual and collective mourning for those who had died on the battlefields have represented a way for getting through the war experience and making sense of it, mutilations were, conversely, more painful evidences of the (unbearable) memory of war atrocities and devastations. The medical reconstruction of impaired bodies, therefore, may be variously viewed as technological achievement, restoration of a previous status, and way of hiding to view. Dealing with war disability and its experience, in fact, implies to take account of issues such as memory, trauma, forgetting and oblivion, silence and embarrassment.

Focusing on the Italian case, I will analyze how Italy’s National Association of War Mutilated and Disabled, established in 1917 and still existing, coped with its very nature and
purpose, as aimed at grouping together all those veterans who wore the war written on their bodies. How was the experience of war recollected, reprocessed and told by its members? What was Italy’s collective reception of what happened to those men? The Association’s journals and initiatives will help me elaborating my points of view on the matter.

**Samson, Anne** (Independent scholar), ‘The development of memory in Europe(ans) of the East Africa campaign of the First World War’

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The Great War in East Africa was fought mainly between Britain, its colonies, Germany, Belgium and Portugal. It was the longest fought campaign of the First World War starting on 5 August 1914 and ending on 25 November 1918, with all the military arms (land, naval and air) being involved. It included the only undefeated German general of the Great War, Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck who was also the only German to occupy British territory during the war. Yet, very little, fiction and non-fiction, has been written about the campaign in comparison to others.

This paper proposes, from a historical perspective, to chart the development and increase in interest in the East Africa campaign through the publication of fiction and non-fiction from the Great War to present times. It is suggested that part of the reason for the increase in interest globally is due to the growth in genealogy particularly, but not exclusively, in the UK and the advent of the internet which has enabled enthusiasts from various disciplines across the world to link together. In addition, the increasing popularity of heritage travel and battlefield tours has fuelled current interest in the campaign as opportunities for new ventures have been identified. Finally, the study provides an opportunity, using a reflective practice approach, to explore the role and influence of the historian in the development of memory.

**Shelby, Karen** (The City University of New York), ‘History, memory or propaganda: the Great War, the martyred soldier and 21st-century Flemish politics’

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My paper addresses a controversial Flemish memorial dedicated to the memory of two casualties of the Great War, Edward and Frans van Raemdonck. Soon after their deaths in 1917, the brothers’ life-and-death stories were co-opted by a particularly outspoken group of Flemish volunteers who espoused a Flemish nationalist platform. The story of their deaths grew to mythical proportions, which quickly gained credibility at the expense of historical accuracy. A memorial was erected and books were dedicated to their life and death story. The falsehoods surrounding the story of their death conti-
nue to circulate in contemporary political discourse. The posters, portraits, stained glass and the memorial itself, a site of the controversial annual Uzerwake pilgrimage, continue to compromise the history and the collective and collected memories of the event. In the face of historical accuracy the past continues to be re-written and reconstructed to conform to the platforms of specific Flemish nationalists who continue to identify themselves and their community through one of the most powerful and symbolically permanent symbols of war, the war monument. This paper will examine the variety of ways in which the deaths of the brothers was depicted in art and other forms of visual culture and address the circulation and reception of these objects. I will also address the physical appearance of the van Raemdonck memorial, which combines an unusual juxtaposition of sacred and secular symbols. I will compare the artist and donor’s intentions with the reception of the memorial by various publics in the postwar years and the present. I will locate the memorial in its political and cultural context as a focal object and site of a vocal group of Flemish nationalists.

Shilliday, Molleen (University of British Columbia, Canada), ‘Writing in the Wake: The Language of Trauma in Contemporary French War Novels’

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After World War II, an interrogation of the purpose and the continuity of literature overcame Europe and North America: How do we go on writing after the breakdown of culture, after massive social trauma? The need to attest to the evil that plagued Europe inaugurated the era of testimonial writing. In France, Camus’ La Peste (1947) would be the first of many fictional accounts to highlight the contingent relationship between literature, testimony and World War II. Today, World War II continues to maintain its stronghold on literary minds; however a shift has occurred. Authors who did not bear witness to the war attest to its traumatic effects in their works, thus transforming how narratives relate to testimony and to history. It is clear that trauma can transcend authorial generations, but what effect does this transcendence have on the text’s role as a vehicle for testimony? Indeed, while authors who lived through the trauma of conflict, during World War II, such as Claude Simon (1913-2005) and Elie Wiesel (b.1928), recount atrocities that they witnessed as contemporaries, writers born after 1945, such as Hadrien Laroche (b.1963) and Nancy Huston (b.1953), bear what one might call “fictional witness” to these wars whose traumatic effects they inherited. Through a comparative analysis of texts by Simon, Wiesel, Laroche and Huston, my PhD thesis ‘Writing in the Wake: The Language of Trauma in Contemporary French War Novels’ explores the question: How does the textual approach of writers who utilize their experiences of World War II as a point of departure for their writing differ from the approach of authors born after 1945? During this presentation, I will underline not only what it is to write in the wake of war, but also what it is to awaken to our necessary engagement with history and traumatic memory.
According to sociologist Margaret Archer, although new identities are not usually created in circumstances of our own choosing but embedded in nature, practice, and society, people remain active subjects in their own lives rather than passive subjects to whom things happen. The creation of an identity is a self-reflective and conscious process. Society contributes to who we are, Archer contends, but does not fully make us. Conflicts of identity, she asserts, emerge precisely out of clashes and ambiguities caused by the difference between the social and private sense of self. The notion of identity is highly relevant for the reading of the art produced by German women during the First World War. The images served as a tool for re-imagining women’s social and cultural identities and negotiating and acting out the boundaries for these new identities. From citizens at war and active participants in the national war effort, women became unsettled witnesses of wartime violence and destruction, and eventually portrayed themselves in variations of the disconsolate female mourner. Thus, as a body of narrative sources, women’s art of the First World War demonstrates the multitude of women’s identities in wartime and reflects the manner in which they evolved over the course of the conflict. In the process of identity formation, art thus had a performative function and represented one way of finding and affirming new wartime roles. Art, for example, obtained an integral function in creating the figure of the female mourner by framing wartime death in conceivable ways, by recreating, reimagining and replacing rituals of bereavement and by expressing emotional pain. Female artists thus overcame the norms and restrictions imposed on mourning women in wartime society.

Škrlj, Katja (University of Nova Gorica, Ljubljana), ‘Sites of memory, sites of mourning or landmarks: the case of the First World War Memory on the border of Slovenia and Italy’

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This paper deals with the political (ab)use of the First World War Memory in Italy and Slovenia. I’ll analyse the strategies of commemoration of the First World War in the border region between the two countries that was part of Italy in the period during the two World Wars. I’ll try to demonstrate how a military defeat was used as an instrument of apology for Italian expansionist politics on its eastern border and to show how the memory of fallen Italian soldiers was colonized to construct fascist ideology and its politics in the 1930s.

In the first decade after the war, different commemorative monuments were erected in order to remember the tragic years of 1914-1918 and the lost generation that died in the trenches. Monuments to the fallen soldiers are not just sites of memory and sites of mourning, but also the most effective national symbols - places of identification with the fallen national heroes and justification of their sacrifice. Almost everybody has found their place in national commemorations apart from minorities of gender (women), age (children, elder people), status (prisoners, refugees) and geography (populations of occupied territories). The last group is especially significant for the case study discussed in this paper.

I’ll analyse the monumental Ossuaries that were built in 1930 along what is today the Slovenian – Italian border. I’ll focus especially on the Italian Ossuary in Kobarid. This commemorative monument of fallen Italian soldiers will be taken for case study because it is a classic example of physical, linguistic and performative remembrance.

Sokołowska-Paryż, Marzena (University of Warsaw), ‘Re-imagining the Great War in the Grand-Historical Narrative’

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The contemporary grand-historical narrative is marked by an intriguing conflation of conventional historical fiction, which prioritizes the monumental events of the past and binds them causally on the axis of history, and deploys postmodern strategies of deconstructing the linearity of historical processes and laying bare the constructedness of historical emplotments. The focus of this presentation will be the divergent international meanings of the Great War determined by the specific location of the conflict in history and the casting of fictive protagonists in ideologically defined roles as either agents or victims of historical change. The Great War may be written as the originating event of modern history or the climactic cataclysm that brings history to an end. The Great War may be written as a powerful factor behind social progress, the founding event of national identity, or a harbinger of the gradual destruction of societies and nations in the subsequent decades. There are as many Great Wars as there are authors. What is the sphere of convergence between the English soldiers of the Great War and the German boys of the Hitlerjugend? How does gendering the Great War change the meaning of England’s social history? How does showing the Great War as an absence explain the rise of fascism in Germany? How do personal stories of the Great War create the political histories of the Second World War? These are but a few questions prompted by the textual and cinematic narratives chosen for my discussion, including William Leonard Marshall’s The Age of Death, Len Deighton’s Winter: The Tragic Story of a Berlin Family 1899-1945, Pat Barker’s Liza’s England, Edgar Reitz’s Heimat: A Chronicle of Germany, Zbigniew Chmielewski’s Blisko, coraz bliżej, and Richard Michael’s Once an Eagle.
Suppanz, Werner (University of Graz), ‘Between representation and oblivion. World War One in Austrian war monuments and memorial sites since 1918’

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With respect to the memory of the Great War, Austria is a strange case. On the one hand Austria-Hungary was one of the great powers in World War I. Present-day Austria since 1945, in contrast to Britain or France for example, has considered it as an event of the past with little relevance for the collective memory. From the historiographical point of view, the First World War and above all the experience of the front is a topic which only lately – in the past ten or fifteen years – caught up with the questions and approaches raised in international academic research. Moreover, in collective memory, Austria-Hungary’s last war is interpreted as the ‘war of the grand-fathers’ (Hans Magenschab) with a nostalgic aura. Its cultural representation refers rather to the end of the ‘long 19th century’ than to the ‘seminal catastrophe of the 20th century’.

Based on these presuppositions, the paper will discuss Austria’s memorial culture concerning World War I, starting with the central question of how it was remembered in interwar Austria. It will focus on war memorials as media of remembrance and signifying practices. Which institutions were responsible for the erection of war memorials after 1918? What are the main features of this “memorial culture” in Austria? What were the guiding aesthetic and political concepts and controversies concerning war monuments? What role was played by international discourses on the memorialization of the Great War? And whose war was it – a war of a multinational Empire, of Germanhood, or of the feudal and bourgeois classes?

After the discussion of these main questions, the paper will analyse the continuation and reinterpretation of memorial sites of World War I after 1945, in the light of the memory of the Second World War.

Svoljsak, Petra (University of Nova Gorica), ‘Slovenian Historiography and Collective Memory of World War I’

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Slovenian national historiography and national collective memory of World War I largely depended on the state framework in which the Slovenian national community lived after 1918, as well as on the social system of the Yugoslav state after World War II. War experiences, as diverse as the war developments on Slovenian territory, and combat experiences in Slovenian collective memory were determined by the above-mentioned circumstances. World War I is generally considered to have become the constitutive element of Slovenian 20th-century history only since the 1980s, whereas
the period immediately after World War I, during the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, was marked especially by memorial discussions of themes that formed the constitutive foundation of the Yugoslav state community. Surprisingly poor investigation was done into the problem of the Isonzo Front, which took place on ethnic Slovenian territory and directly affected the lives of the inhabitants of the Slovenian provinces, but did not have an important role in the creation of the Yugoslav state. The Slovenian memorial landscape is thus a reflection of post-war conditions. While the memory of the fallen Slovenian soldiers was maintained by the organisation of Slovenian veterans, on the territory that was granted to Italy in compliance with the London Pact (26 April 1915) and the Peace Treaty between Italy and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, it was confined to the privacy of the people and prohibited from entering into the public domain. After World War II, the new social system set new priority themes for Slovenian historiography; among the themes of World War I that remained topical were volunteering and military revolts. The theme of the Isonzo Front became part of the historiographical environment at the end of the 1960s and subject to more systematic research only from the mid-1980s onwards.

**Szpocinski, Andrzej (Polish Academy of Sciences), ‘The Past in Polish public discourse’**

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This paper is devoted to a description of discussions about the past in the public sphere. I have distinguished three basic themes in contemporary debates about the past.

The first, which I call ‘shutting out the truth’, relies on the need to inform both our own society and the world at large about events which have up until now remained hidden for political reasons (due to censorship during the socialist era).

The second theme, which I call ‘nostalgia’, is characterised by placing an emphasis on martyrological events from Polish history. This kind of interest in the past arouses controversy: the opponents of such a vision of the past class this type of emphasis as ‘post-colonial’.

The third theme is what I define as ‘post-dependence’, and is characterised by a new tendency in the interpretation of Second World War history, in particular that of the Holocaust, in order to try to tell the story of the Holocaust in Poland through clichés developed by the Germans in their historical accounts. This kind of approach is employed by intellectuals.
Since the turn of the millennium, the Spanish Civil War and the manner in which it is being remembered has become the focus of increasing attention. The combination of academic, public, and media interest in the question of historical memory of the war has given shape and momentum to the national debate culminating in the introduction by the Spanish Parliament of the Ley de Memoria Histórica, a law designed to provide moral and symbolic recognition to the victims of the Civil War and its repressive aftermath.

Thus far, there has been no scholarly endeavour that has attempted to detect and analyse any change in the ‘official’ discourse over the national past that might have been triggered by the ratification of this important piece of legislation on 31 October 2007. This paper seeks to correct this oversight by focusing on the articles published by Spain’s leading newspapers, El País and El Mundo. Coverage of crucial anniversaries has indicated that El País, politically close to Spain’s Socialist left, promotes the achievement of a closure with the past by presenting recent events of national history along the lines of an ‘epic’ narrative (León Solís 2003). Conversely, the narrative proposed by El Mundo, a newspaper that despite independent and liberal overtones frequently expresses the views of the Spanish centre-right, appears to reflect the ‘revisionist’ opinions put forward in the works of amateur historians such as Pío Moa. This paper argues that, while the main interpretative lines proposed by these two newspapers have not radically changed since 2007, a subtle re-elaboration of the so-called ‘epic’ and ‘revisionist’ discourses has occurred and that this outcome is attributable to the initiatives of memorial organisations (such as Foro por la memoria and the Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica), which have sought to remind politicians and their fellow countrymen that official recognition of the stories of the victims could no longer be postponed.

Charlotte Delbo’s (1913-1985) representations of her traumatic experience as a deportee to Auschwitz-Birkenau and Marie Chaix’s (1942 - ) evocation of events in her collaborationist family, offer two examples of the plurality and often contradictory memories of the war in France.

Subverting various genres, Delbo makes us ‘see’ life in the camps through an a-chronological, fragmented poetico-realistic prose (Auschwitz et après, 1965; La Mémoire et
les jours, 1985) and play (Qui rapportera ces paroles?, 1974), and keeps alive in a socio-
biographical work (Le Convoi du 24 janvier, 1965), the memory of the 229 women of her
convoy. Chaix, torn between her guilt about the past and love for her collaborationist
father, uses in autobiographical fiction the journal he wrote in prison after the war, (Les
Lauriers du Lac de Constance, 1974; Les Silences ou la vie d’une femme, 1976; L’Eté du sureau,
2005) not to rehabilitate him but to understand his trajectory.

Premised upon the figure of readers as witnesses and thus participants, Delbo’s
writing lent itself to new representations of the past. Her legacy can be seen in the nu-
erous readings or plays in Brussels, Paris and London, made up of combinations of her
vignettes. Dance-acting has given expression to her poetic style. Her socio-biographies
of her companions in Le Convoi du 24 janvier, were read in a nationwide public event
in 1995, thus restoring to them a place in society. Chaix’s analytical and psychological
writings, putting into context ‘les années noires’, encouraged more autobiographies or
interviews by other children of collaborators.

For different reasons Delbo’s and Chaix’s work did not get immediate recognition.
In France, the acceptable war memories were about the Resistance, the horror of the
extermination camps not being acknowledged until the 1970s. With the previously rare
exception of autobiographies (P. Modiano, P. Jardin) or films (Lacombe Lucien; Le Chagrin
et la pitié), collaboration with the Nazis had remained a taboo subject. Both kinds of me-
mories continue to be the subject of controversial debate and representation of war.

Theodosiou, Christina (University Paris-I, Panthéon-Sorbonne), ‘The representations of
1918 Armistice and Armistice Day in French literature and popular theater (1919-1939)’

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In the last years, the historians of the Great War have been particularly interested in
the discursive modes of memory while paying special attention to the relationship be-
tween narrative, identity and traumatic memory. They have thus explored the ways in
which individuals or groups structured the experience of the warfare and constructed
their identity through literature, biography and commemorative discourse. Although
the 1918 armistice has already been studied under the scope of commemoration and co-
reminiscing which both take place through the interposed agency of a text, it has not
yet been treated as a part of a story-telling, a fictive narration relying on dramatic
intensity. Our communication aims to demonstrate the ways in which both the 11th
November 1918 and its national annual celebration have been represented in French li-
terature and popular theater during the interwar period. In this perspective, we will use
two types of sources: theatrical representations where the entire action takes place on
one of these occasions and novels in which the writers have incorporated a scene related
either to the end of the war or to Armistice Day. It is not thus only a question of the
cultural memory-building of the historical event but also of the cultural representation
and reactivation of the mnemonic practice which was associated with this event. Our goal is to question the influence of the historical and social context on the writing of the end of the war and its collective remembrance. We will examine the ways in which the cultural representation of armistice contributes to the emergence of the war’s meta-narrations which structured collective identities in connection with the other discursive modes of memory, commemoration and co-reminiscences. Similarly, we will seek to denote the interactions between story-telling and political and ideological purposes. For that, we intend to pose the following questions: when was the book written, by whom, under which personal circumstances and in which social and historical context, whether the writer related to a political and ideological current of his time? But memory-building, we will finally argue, is more than a political or, *stricto sensu*, ideological reconstruction of the past. The cultural revivification of war can also carry or contest a “memory-project”; in this case, it is positioned with regards to a larger social process of redefining both the past and its paradigmatic value and the expectancies of the future.

**Thurstance, Angela (University of Leicester), ‘Memory and Survivor Guilt in Pat Barker’s *Another World* and Elaine di Rollo’s *Bleakly Hall*’**

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Literature about the First World War is haunted by memory. Images of heroic soldiers rising from muddy trenches into a barrage of machine-gun fire still resonate today. But what of those who would prefer to forget? Shame and guilt, acknowledged symptoms of post-traumatic stress, can leave survivors living a nightmare of self-recrimination. This paper will look at two contemporary novels which explore the issues surrounding survivor guilt and the need to forget: Pat Barker’s *Another World* (1998); and Elaine di Rollo’s *Bleakly Hall* (2011). In *Another World*, Barker challenges the need to remember through Geordie, who despite being a veteran of the war, prefers to avoid ceremonies of remembrance. While others insist on enshrining his actions in public memory, Geordie is uncomfortable with the label of war hero, since for him reliving his experiences means facing his guilt for killing his brother. In *Bleakly Hall*, di Rollo explores similar concerns through her portrayal of Monty, who smothered her friend after she was fatally injured during an air raid, and Peter Foxley, who was ordered to slit the throat of a fellow soldier because he was dying too loudly in the trenches. Monty cannot forget her actions and lives with constant guilt whereas Foxley cannot remember why he feels guilty. He thinks his memories are carried on the backs of bees and he constantly struggles to try to recapture them, without success.

Issues of what is remembered or forgotten provide a central theme in both narratives. They suggest that it is not only how others remember survivors that matters, but how they remember themselves. Those around them may view their situation with understanding and compassion, but whether their actions are consciously remembered or not, survivor guilt provides an insurmountable barrier to forgiving oneself.
**Trubicka, Hanna (Adama Mickiewicza University, Poznań), ‘The Mythology of war in the* The Salt of the Earth* by Józef Wittlin’**

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The purpose of this paper is to examine *The Salt of The Earth* as one of the European novels of the XX century that has become an artistic answer for the experience of World War I. In his book, Józef Wittlin creates his own image of war that turns into a myth. This can be demonstrated mostly by the analysis of the novel’s main character – Piotr Niewiadomski. In my study I would like to show that – as the character’s eclectic worldview is an amalgam of a traditional peasant world-view and a modern-world-outlook – he is not only a victim of the modern myth of war, but also its accidental co-author. He can only define himself as a part of a dehumanizing technocratic civilization, the culmination of which is the institution of war. By showing how the myth of war helps the individual to find himself in the incoherent, ‘disenchanted’ world – Józef Wittlin points out the responsibility that European culture and its nations bear for institutionalized violence.

**Valkola, Jarmo (Tallin University), ‘War and Audiovisual Memory in the films of Péter Forgács’**

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Péter Forgács (1950-) is a media artist and independent filmmaker based in Budapest. His works have been exhibited worldwide. He is best known for his ‘Private Hungary’ series. In 1983, Forgács established the Private Photo & Film Archives Foundation (PPFA) in Budapest. In 2002, the Getty Research Institute held an exhibition of his installation *The Danube Exodus: Rippling Currents of the River*. His international debut came with the *Bartos Family* (1988). Since then he has received several international festival awards.

Talking about war and memory has strong reflections in the film art of Péter Forgács. Forgács started his series of films dedicated to the history of Hungary with the film *The Bartos Family* (1988). Forgács has since then assembled these ‘Private Hungary’ documentary series from a collection of home-movie stock dating back to the 1930s and up to the present. On cognitive and phenomenological levels Forgács’s films offer an interesting and demanding way of combining the tradition of the montage film, archive film, and the so-called found footage film. Especially, Forgács seems to revive the tradition of family film while examining Central European history, and especially the Jewish question, evoking the pathos of individuals living their everyday lives against the often tragic background of historical events.

There is an ontological dimension in the work of Forgács, since his films reflect the work and nature of memory, the construction of history, and they create phenome-
nological reflections on the medium itself. The films have a psychological tendency, because they are comprised of intimate diaries, letters, and autobiographies. At the same time, they reflect experimental traditions, and the history of documentary film. Most of his films are collaborations with the minimalist composer Tibor Szemző, who creates a special sound-space behind the Forgács imagery. In this paper I will also focus on the different levels of narration and the relationship between sound and image in Forgács's films.

**Vigurs, Kate (University of Leeds), ‘Celluloid memorials – post-war depictions of women Special Operations Executive F section agents on film.’**

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The purpose of this paper is to look at the representation of the women of the Special Operations Executive (SOE) whose heroines have become household names and part of the public consciousness owing to the popular medium of film. These films are often made up of confused images and myths which have become integral to the British understanding of what SOE was. My aim is to examine how these illustrations of the past have affected the public’s perception of individuals’ true stories and lives.

I also intend to demonstrate how film can be considered a type of memorial, how film serves as a place of memory and if it can act as a celluloid memorial. Several of the SOE films act as a place of memory where the deeds and events around certain agents lives are depicted. This is because ‘film can be a place of memory in so far as it engages the public in a collective recollection that revivifies or creates a meaningful link between a past event and the identity of the social group in the present.’

A film brings the public together in its commemoration of events, and, as an audience member, an individual may then link his/her life with the past due to the film provoking an empathetic reaction.

By evaluating the films in such a way, it is my intention to be able to ascertain how these particular films have contributed to the myths about the women of SOE, to understand if and why the public view of these women has become skewed and unrealistic and to discuss whether these films are in any way beneficial to our study of individuals’ life-stories and therefore of the past.

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7 Guynn, W. *Writing History in Film.* (Abingdon, 2006) pp 178
Almost immediately after the end of World War II, memoir reflections about the war years started to appear in Bulgaria and soon turned into a major form of historiographic reflection. The numbers of such books increased particularly since the early 1950s, when core texts about the experience of different partisan groups emerged, laying the basis of central themes and representations of the war over the following decades. The majority of these texts resulted from the work of prominent participants in the resistance movement, and their major purpose was to revisit the period before 1944 and to recreate central moments from the activities of partisan troops and Communist party units. Representing historical events through the view of participants and witnesses of the war experience, such memoirs figure not only as a ‘subjective resource of history’, but also as primary material, from which the emerging postwar historiographic discourse drew locally ingrained inspiration, validity, and power of persuasion.

The goal of the current paper is to reflect on the representations of the war experience as a “recent past” in memoirs published during the first decade after the end of World War II in Bulgaria. On the basis of an analysis of the main topics and narrative strategies applied in memoir texts from this decade, the paper will address core issues related to the interpretation and commemoration of the war years. Through these published testimonies, the language of combat and conflict and its recollection penetrated and overwhelmed the memoir genres, as well as fashioning history in a way responsive to the postulates of the ruling ideology. Focusing on the crucial role that memoirs about the war had for the emerging narratives of Communist historiography, the paper will outline their role in shaping the subsequent conceptualizations of the history and patterns of remembrance about the war years in Communist Bulgaria.

One of the recently emerging themes related to the Spanish Civil War and postwar collective memory is the one dealing with women prisoners (and in many different cases of their children) during both the Civil War and Franco’s regime. The subject aroused lately with the very well-grounded historical researches made by Barcelonan professor Ricard Vinyes (Irredentas. Las presas políticas y sus hijos en las cárcel de Franco, 2003; Los niños perdidos del franquismo, 2002) as well as in Tomasa Cuevas recompilation of testimonies, Te-
stimonios de mujeres en las cárceles franquistas (2004), and in Paul Preston’s latest book, The Spanish Holocaust. Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain (2011). Consequently, in 2008, the judge Baltasar Garzón declared to the Spanish Tribunal, amongst other cases related to the violation of human rights during the War and the postwar regime, the appropriations and illegal adoptions of children taken from their imprisoned republican mothers (according to Vinyes, the number amounts to an astonishing 12,000).

The aim of the paper is to analyze this important aspect of the Spanish Civil War and postwar memory both in recent novels of the so-called ‘postmemory generation’ of writers (such as Jesús Ferrero and Dulce Chacón) as well as feature films (Estrellas que alcanzar, dir. Mikel Rueda, 2010 on the Saturrarán women’s prison) and documentaries (Del olvido a la memoria. Presas de Franco, 2007, dir. J. Montes Salguero, based on the recompilation work of Tomasa Cuevas), and to see how they (re)construct and/or commemorate the memory.

Wawrzyniak, Joanna (University of Warsaw), ‘WWII, story-telling and agency in the public sphere of Communist and post-Communist Poland’

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The paper attempts to build an analytical framework for studying the evolution of a master-narrative of WWII in Poland. First, it calls for an integrative perspective and examines existing scholarship, including the quantitative sociological surveys on the collective memory of war, a sample of qualitative studies based on narrative interviews, as well as historical, literary and visual memory studies. The paper points out important similarities in findings of various scholars (one of them is the very existence of a Polish master-narrative of war) despite clear differences in their academic approaches. Second, it argues that, with a few exceptions, scholars who study war commemoration in Poland surprisingly rarely focus on the issue of agency in the public sphere. Finally, it shows the possible advantages of bringing this issue into the forefront of memory studies and proposes a typology of various mnemonic agents in Communist and post-Communist Poland.

Winckler, Julia (University of Brighton), ‘War, memory and photographic traces’

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In Archive Fever, Jacques Derrida wrote that: “the question of the archive is not a question of the past (…) it is a question of the future”.

Two small photographs found in a suitcase belonging to my great uncle, Hugo Hecker, formed the starting-point for my photographic project Traces. The suitcase had
witnessed Hugo’s escape, in the summer of 1939, from Vienna to England. Hugo’s family perished in the Shoah, the two photographs constituting their last visual traces. Only two brothers and two nieces survived, separated forever. In his lifetime, Hugo, traumatized by the war, had remained silent about the loss of his family. I began the project as a means of preventing the memory of the Hecker family becoming erased from history.

This conference presentation will introduce the project and will discuss how I have re-constructed the few remaining traces into a three-part series: Witnessing attempts to preserve the family’s memory; Searching captures my journey to Poland to find traces of their lives there, Preserving holds onto the few inherited objects and documents for their potential to provide testimony as to what happened to the Hecker family and countless others that shared their fate. The work consists of a series of large-scale multi-layered photographs and a short 7-minute film, made in collaboration with the artist Nerea Martinez de Lecea. This film could be shown as part of the presentation.

I will conclude with a brief discussion on the important role of educators and visual practitioners to respond to archival images so that they may be reinscribed with meaning in the present and for the future.

Winograd, Annabelle (Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH, USA), ‘Embodied memory: setting and showing in WWI front-line museology, Hill 62, Ieper, Belgium’

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In 1918, a soldier returns from the front to his homestead in Zillebeke, a rural community 3 km from Ieper, Belgium. He tills his land and the land gives up the objects of war it had so recently shrouded. These he gathers in his tool-shed; the beginning of the collection of the earliest extant war museum at the Western front, established in 1919.

My site of research, Hill 62, is unique in the historiography of war museology and curatorship. Uncensored in its display of a pornography of death through abominable warfront stereoscope photographs, the museum provides extraordinary examples of ‘dirt-affirmation’ (Mary Douglas, 1966) in piles of objects strewn on the floor, polluted by rust and dust. The expo, frozen in time since its inception, is an aberrant form. Its emphasis on a flea-market ostentation—on showing—lends quotidian objects greater authority than texts, and through their carnivalesque theatricality, combatant culture’s transgressive potential is mobilized.

The authority the museum carries is the date of its founding, the agency of its founder as a ‘witness’ (Jean Norton Cru, 1928), entitled to speak what the war was really like (‘memory’), and precisely its untutored museology—from-below: anti-elitist, anti-aesthetic, anti-intellectual, anti-theoretical. Hill 62 has remained a shed, now attached to a pizzeria and a parking-lot. In its yard, the reinforced trenches.

Tourism, like slumming, takes the spectator to the site. In 1919, Hill 62’s ‘hereness’ (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1998) was too close upon the war to channel memory. It
answered the deep need of families to know more, as it tested the limits, even the violations, of a second life through representation. Today, Hill 62 provokes the viewer to think about how the ‘anti-curated’ installation itself produces meaning. To read the expo, I cross disciplines to troll a dissident archive whose contents and display are a revelation for war historiography, ethnographic-museology, WWI cultures de guerre writings, and the ever-expanding purview of performance studies. My own photographs, archival photographs of the site from the Documentation Center of the Stedelijke Museum, leper, and a brief clip that moves the viewer around the space, will accompany the presentation.

**Wiśniewski, Jacek (University of Warsaw), “What will they do when I am gone?”: Great War poets’ elegies on their own death**

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The paper will examine two poems by famous British poets, Thomas Hardy’s ‘Afterwards’ and Edward Thomas’s ‘What will they do when I am gone’ as examples of elegies on their author’s death. Hardy, in his seventies when the Great War started, was obviously not a soldier, but he produced a number of memorable poems of war (e.g. ‘Channel Firing’ or ‘Men Who March Away’). All the 144 poems which Edward Thomas wrote in the final two years of his life, 1914-1916, refer to war directly or indirectly, but they had all been written before Thomas left for France and his artillery battery at Arras; they were all written in anticipation of the war experience. My discussion of those two poems (with occasional reference to other well-known poems of war, Brooke’s, Owen’s, Rosenberg’s and Douglas’s) will centre on the way these two poets imagine but also construct proper modes of remembrance.

**Włoszycka, Malgorzata (Gosia) (University of Southampton), ‘Representation of the memory of Jews in the physical space as an element of Polish identity. A case study of a town in southern Poland’**

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Memory of the past, as well as the manner in which communities deal with it, tells us more about the current condition of these communities than about the past itself. Poland, with its political changes at the beginning of the 1990s, began the process of political and social transformation which led to the re-emergence of this social collective memory. After decades of distorted and abused memory by the communist regime, Polish society had to regain its identity and revise its relationship to the past and collective memory. The attempt to fill **biale plamy** (white stains) in the Polish col-
lective memory also raised the issue of Polish-Jewish relations and the place Jews take in this memory. Dealing with the resurrection of the memory of the Polish Jews has been neither a cohesive nor a unifying process. Three million Polish Jews perished during the Holocaust. In the case of the vast majority of towns and villages, the whole Jewish population vanished within a short period of time. The arising question is how a community deals with such loss in terms of their collective memory? To what extent is it possible to maintain continuity of the community’s history without including the memory of its Jewish members? Did the silence over the history of Jews during the communism create a void which needs to be filled now when Polish identity has been reconstructed? A case study of a Mszana Dolna in southern Poland shows how the community of this town deals with the memory of its Jewish neighbours.


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The figure of General Charles de Gaulle is indelibly tied up with the French Résistance during World War II. If London was the actual locale of this resistance movement, it was in the French African colonies and namely in Brazzaville that Free France established its bases and main capital. The famous Brazzaville speech in which de Gaulle called for the engagement of the colonized subjects in the fight to liberate France still resonates in the historical memory of the former African countries.

The significance of the speech was twofold because de Gaulle had used the occasion to invoke an African people who would be freed from the yoke of colonialism. The direct association that the general made between the liberation of France and the liberation of colonial Africa, and his call for a united France-African front against Nazi oppression led to a remarkable phenomenon: the appropriation by colonial subjects of Charles de Gaulle as the ‘African prophet of the white race.’

As a result, a religious cult known as the ‘cult of Ngol’ sprouted around de Gaulle in the wake of World War II. First having originated in the upper Congo region, the cult produced representations in the likeness of the general, figurines and effigies with his signature gesture of raised arms. These figurines became widespread also in nearby Gabon after 1945. The cult propped up De Gaulle as the great ‘Ancestor’ and agent of an ancestral force, known as Ngolo (also Ngol). It was said that Ngol would spring open the doors of victory for the ‘prophet’ de Gaulle. My paper will examine the origins, esthetics, and transmission of this cult as an integral part of the collective memory in colonial and postcolonial Africa of de Gaulle, World War II and Free France.
The multiple Soviet/Nazi occupations of Lithuania in the 20th century have left multiple unhealed wounds in Lithuanian culture and society. As is so often the case, places of imprisonment and torture become a place of memory and commemoration, a kind of ‘never again’. The building which acted as a KGB prison is now a museum, predominantly aimed at Western visitors and at the generation of Lithuanians born after 1990. Colloquially known as the KGB museum, it is actually called the Museum of Genocide Victims.

The word ‘genocide’ in the museum’s title causes consternation among scholars and misunderstanding among the museum’s visitors who come expecting to find out about the genocide of Lithuania’s Jews.

In this paper, I would like to talk about how the museum transmits the subjectivity of Lithuanian occupation/victimhood through the use of what historian Steve Dubin calls ‘emotional architecture.’ The first of these is a display of decaying shoes unearthed from a mass grave of political prisoners, who were executed in this building. This sort of display is strongly reminiscent of Holocaust representation of total annihilation, of genocide. Thus the museum uses this particular method to denote the ‘genocide’ of the Lithuanian nation while under Soviet occupation. I will discuss the pros and cons of this particular display.

I will also discuss a mirror inserted into one of the prison cell doors [in place of the window]. This display offers a glimpse of the dual experience of Lithuanians under Soviet occupation - they were both victims and perpetrators. You see your reflection as that of a prisoner looking out from behind the bars and as the prison guard looking into the cell.

I would also like to touch upon the complex memorialisation of the LAF and the forest brothers, whose role changed from those responsible for the initial Jewish pogroms, to freedom fighters, to Soviet victims to Lithuanian martyrs and heroes. There seems to be no memorial platform where their complex memory can be untangled and discussed and they are now commemorated under the blanket term of ‘heroic freedom fighters’. 
‘Quartet for the end of time’ by Olivier Messiaen

Olivier Messiaen (1908–1992), one of the leading French composers of the last century from June 1940 to March 1941 was a prisoner of war in a POW camp in Görlitz-Moys (since 1945 Zgorzelec-Ujazd). There he wrote his ‘Quartet for the end of time’ and prem­iered it in the ′theatre-barrack′ on 15. January 1941. On September 7, 2012 – on the inauguration of the conference – parts 2-5 will be played by the quartet made of the following artists:

Julian Paprocki (clarinet), born in 1993, is a 2012 graduate with honours of the Brzewski State Music High School in Warsaw (clarinet) and the Szymanowski State Music School in Warsaw (organ). Since October 2011 he has been a student at the Conservatoire National de Région de Rueil-Malmaison in Paris (clarinet). In 2003 he made his public debut as composer in Poland and in 2006 in Ukraine. His most important works are: Suita for viola, bass clarinet and harpsichord; Poemat for two violas; Lied for oboe solo; Canzonetta for clarinet solo and Kwartet smyczkowy (String Quartet). He has performed in Poland, Italy, France, Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Slovakia, Ukraine and Hungary. He was won awards twenty five times in national and international competitions, ten times taking first place. He has been awarded scholarships by the Polish Ministry of Culture, the Polish Children’s Fund and the Adam Mickiewicz Institute’s “Polish Culture Abroad” scheme.

Katarzyna Seremak (violin), born in 1993, is a 2012 graduate with honours of the Brzewski State Music High School in Warsaw. Together with her trio she has won awards at the ′Talents for Europe 2008′ competition in Slovakia and in several other competitions in Poland. She has participated in several master classes in Poland and Norway. She has played violin mainly (as a member of a chamber orchestra) on many stages in Warsaw such as those of: the Chopin University, the Warsaw Philharmonic, the Grand Theatre, and the Lutosławski Concert Studio. She has participated in a Polish-Belgian exchange and a Polish-Norwegian Youth Academy of Music. She has been awarded a scholarship by the Elsner Foundation.

Zuzanna Sosnowska (cello), born in 1993, is a 2012 graduate of the Brzewski State Music High School in Warsaw and a student of the Liszt School of Music in Weimar. Playing cello, she has performed as a soloist, as a member of a chamber orchestra or as a member of a full orchestra on several stages in Poland, France, Germany, Canada, Austria, Norway and the Netherlands. She is a laureate of national and international music competitions in Poland and Serbia. She has been awarded scholarships in Poland by the Prime Minister and by the Polish Children’s Fund, and in Canada by Mount
Royal University, allowing participation in the “Morningside Music Bridge” master class in Calgary.

**Maurycy Maria Stawujak** (piano), born in 1993, is a 2012 graduate of the Szymanowski State Music School in Warsaw and a student of the Chopin University in Warsaw. He has twice been a finalist of, ‘Les Rencontres Internationales des Jeunes Pianistes’ in Belgium and has won several awards and distinctions in Polish competitions. He performs in Poland, Belgium, Germany and Hungary. In 2013 he will spend three months in the USA on a scholarship for pianists.
I have been researching and making photographs in response to the letters and photographs of Robert Perceval-Maxwell a Colonel in the 36th Ulster Division in WW1. His letters from the trenches refer, not primarily to the conflict, but to the administration and daily practical tasks concerning the farm estate in County Down, even though they are obviously written under the most harrowing and traumatic conditions of the British Expeditionary Force in France's Western Front. One can begin to perceive parallels between life as an officer in the British army and life as a landowner and estate manager in Ireland.

The photographic images in this research have been made as an inquiry into Maxwell's geographical and mental displacement. I chose not to show the obvious relics and artifacts of the conflict but wanted to make photographs which echoed the simplicity and almost lyrical quality of the narratives revealed in the letters and diaries.

The earliest work was made in the Finnebrogue estate in Ireland over a period of almost one year and in early 2012 I made photographs in Northern France. As the land has healed and obscured the scars of conflict Thiepval Wood has now grown to become very similar to the forests of the Finnebrogue estate and the rolling landscape is not unlike parts of Co. Down. The images of both Ireland and France are purposely untitled so that the visual clues become ambiguous.

I want my photographs to occupy a space, between documentation and narrative, and between overt expression and that which is left unsaid.

The photographs in this work were made in the Somme and Thiepval areas of France and on the Finnebrogue Estate and the surrounding location in Ireland. The texts are from Perceval-Maxwell’s letters, the Finnebrogue Estate Manager’s journal, War Diaries of 13th RIR and Falls’ ‘History of the 36th Ulster Division’.

Peter Neill has been exhibiting since 1997. His photographic work has been published extensively in Europe and featured in the British Journal of Photography and Creative Camera magazine. He has exhibited nationally and internationally and was a founding member of the editorial team of Source photographic review. He is currently Course Director of the BA(Hons) course in Photography in the University of Ulster, Belfast.
Two small photographs found in a suitcase belonging to her great uncle, Hugo Hecker, formed the starting point for *Traces/Spuren*, an exhibition by photographer Julia Winckler. The suitcase had witnessed Hugo’s escape, in the summer of 1939, from Vienna to England. Hugo’s parents and most of his family perished in the Holocaust, the two photographs constituting their last visual traces. The Traces exhibition attempts to preserve the family’s memory, capture Julia’s journey to Poland to find traces of their lives there and to preserve the few inherited objects and documents for their potential to provide testimony as to what happened to the Hecker family and countless others who shared their fate.

In the accompanying catalogue, Professor Edward Timms, founder of the Centre for German Jewish Studies at the University of Sussex writes: “To place those events in their historical context has required nearly a decade of patient research, which Julia has undertaken at the Wiener Library and the Imperial War Museum in London, and in Poland. Only last year, with the aid of Polish lawyer and historian Wojciech Kielkowski, she finally succeeded in identifying all of Hugo’s siblings and establishing further details of how the family perished.”

The exhibition consists of a series of large-scale multi-layered photographs and a short film, made in collaboration with the artist Nerea Martinez de Lecea. Art historian Deborah Schultz explains: “Through the stages of the project, from *Witnessing* to *Searching* and *Preserving*, when more is known about the people and their circumstances these images become remarkable, tiny, multilayered capsules of material, not only about those individuals and their lives but about the social, political and cultural worlds in which they lived and the ways in which we might connect to them now. In *Traces*, Julia finds a way of making memory visible.”

A selection of the work has previously been exhibited at the Austrian Cultural Forum London; in the Maison Heinrich Heine, Paris; the KZ Gedenkstätte Oberer Kuhberg, Ulm; the Schlatterhaus, Tübingen, and the Wiener Library, London. The film first premiered at the Brighton Jewish Film Festival.

**Julia Winckler** is a visual artist whose multi-media projects include *Retracing Heinrich Barth; Two Sisters; Leaving Atlantis*. Her work has been exhibited in the UK, Canada, Italy, France, Germany, Cyprus and Taiwan. Her interdisciplinary research focuses on archival traces, memory and migration narratives. Together with Prof. Charmian Brinson and Dr. Anna Müller-Härlin, she has co-authored the book *His Majesty’s most loyal internee: Fred Uhlman in captivity*, Valentine Mitchell, 2009. She is a Senior Lecturer in Photography at the University of Brighton, Faculty of Arts, School of Arts & Media.
Behold by Nicki Jackowska

Kraków 2005

It is not that I found
a poster advertising Lorca and
didn’t tell, or a plaque for the home
of the communist party, and did.

Nor discovered my tarnished
aristocracy that yet steers
a course across cobblestones.

Nor that a knowing
that comes from beneath
guided the flight.

Nor is it nosing upstairs for
Christmas decorations in high summer
or counting baubles in place of men.

It is not that American voices
took no notice preferring
their mobile phones.

and the small Polish couple
on the sofa behind engaged
with me from the backbone.

It is not that nothing was said all
day except to a waitress and the green
cloth she laid to serve my
norwegian fish reminds me of envy.

It is not that the streets stopped
inviting and I needed another
pair of shoes to open them up
though not with laces missing
and different sizes
according to where they fell.

Nor that I cried only once
in the place
where rivers would not be enough.

It is not that the great glass tanks
of tangled hair held also
perfect plaits, a whole head taken.
nor the tiny clothes of infants deceiving us with silence.

It is not that the daily ration was laid awesome out, feastless under a glass cover

nor that I shone my torch to track one floating spear of matter whose name is forgotten.

Nor the reduction, the scales, the bone poking through.

It is not that the tongue is out, the gruel too thin

nor that words perish in the backwoods, the bud, his lower spine.

If this be a man his tongue cannot lap or utter.

It is not that he is yet dog but falls in between.

Nor that I haven’t any good thing to say

nor clue, nor good companion on the way

though we walk in the form of obeisance to this darker than, and the most warped corners of our souls are beaten.

It is not that we are beyond utterance or intelligence or stutter

or that the birds still shrill here among poplars and birch.

It is a kingdom of negatives this, not to be taken.

Nor that the print is not close enough woven, just that to fall through the stolen is no requiem

where notes cleave too tight as flesh that is bright and molten nor that your arm in mine isn’t hooked as kin.
The Institute of Philosophy and Sociology  
(IFiS, www.ifispan.waw.pl)

is one of research centres of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The Institute's primary objective is to carry out advanced research in philosophy and sociology. Apart from its research activity the Institute is engaged in education, publishing and popularisation of science. In 2004 the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology gained the status of the Centre of Perfection granted by the Ministry of Science.

The Institute of Philosophy and Sociology was established in 1956; Professor Adam Schaff, who masterminded the Institute’s idea, was nominated its first Director. Unlike most of such institutes in the soviet controlled area IFiS even during communist times was able to do research in sociology and philosophy and cooperate with western academic institutions. Following a wave of political liberalisation many distinguished philosophers and sociologists of the inter-war period such as Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz and Tadeusz Kotarbiński re-entered academic life and joined the Institute. Among the sociologists who co-created the Institute there were such distinguished scholars as Stanisław Ossowski, Maria Ossowska, Józef Chałasiński and Jan Szczepański.

Many IFiS scholars won worldwide recognition, published in several languages and were awarded doctorates honoris causa from prominent universities. Among awarded scholars were: Professor Jan Szczepański (Brno University and the Sorbonne of Paris), Professor Adam Schaff (the Sorbonne, Nancy University, Ann Arbor), Professor Magdalena Sokołowska (Helsinki University, Siegen University), and Professor Włodzimierz Wesołowski (Helsinki University). Many IFiS professors lectured at foreign universities and colleges: Professor Bronisław Baczko (Geneva University), Professor Leszek Kolakowski (All Souls College, Oxford), Professor Kazimierz M. Słomczyński (Ohio State University), Professor Andrzej Walicki (Notre Dame University), Dr. Krzysztof Zagórski (Australian National University, Canberra, Melbourne University) and Professor Adam Przeworski (New York University). Most of these scholars still co-operate with the Institute. In the beginning of the 1990s the Institute underwent deep reform aimed at transforming it into a modern centre of advanced inter and trans-disciplinary research and education.

Educational tasks have been assigned to new institutions such as Graduate School for Social Research and Post-Graduate Program in Public Relations.
Queen’s University Belfast
‘War and Memory (WAM): cultural cross-currents in Contemporary Europe’
Research Group Mission Statement

Aims: to provide an interdisciplinary forum for academics engaged in research in the cultural and aesthetic effects of war and conflict on Europeans in the twentieth century. This naturally includes research into artistic and historical responses to the phenomena of war. The group focuses on the modes by which cultural memory of wars and conflicts survives from one era to another, how it is conveyed, and to what extent it is subject to a dual perspective, that of event, ‘rupture’ and transition on the one hand, and that of continuity on the other. It also necessarily invites reflection and research into the ways in which individual memory and collective public memory may have been wounded and not transmitted at all, or transmitted only partially, in the cultures of the nations of Europe. The way in which cultural and historical representations of the recent past raise topical (and occasionally even urgent) issues of cultural ‘amnesia’ that are the consequences of war or conflict are also part of our concern.

The group explores the many ways that writers and artists of all kinds and in all literary and creative genres (historical accounts, essays, biographies, autobiographies, fiction, poetry, theatre, film, and the arts) have chosen to reactivate, (re)write, (re)construct, and commemorate the past in their work, or have used writing and/or other media as commemorative practices. The group also examines the construction of meaning and identity in the context of war via the medium of artistic and historical representation. Among other concerns, the ‘War and Memory’ Research Group seeks to provide a proper contextualisation of the work of writers and artists, together with currents and cross-currents of thought in the appropriate social, historical and political backgrounds. Both personal and public memory of the two World Wars, together with the interwar era (including the Spanish Civil War), are analysed in written, oral, and visual representations of the past. Activities related to the cultural history of war and the nature of the transmission of war memory in the context of the history of ideas are currently conducted in various institutions of research, archival centres, and centres of war and memory. The Group provides a new focal point for such research, centred on Queen’s University Belfast. Among its other aims are the encouragement and fostering of interdisciplinary ventures and perspectives on the poetics and historiography of war.

Means: The Research Group is currently at the centre of an international network of researchers, and the group is actively promoting and extending this network in Europe. A successful programme of research seminars has been delivered in the Group’s five years of existence (2007-12). The Group is currently planning its research seminars for next year (2012-2013) to include wider dissemination of the Group’s activities and publicity of topics for talks and seminars, further invitations to guest speakers of international standing, together with the development of communication and discussion by means of an electronic bulletin, and a major international conference to be held in
Warsaw on 7-9 September 2012. The proceedings of the conference will be published later in 2012 or 2013. Furthermore, a volume of articles edited by Manuel Bragança and Peter Tame, some of them based on papers given at the War and Memory Research Group’s research seminars, will be published by Berghahn in 2014. A second volume is already being planned.

Disciplines involved in the War and Memory Research Group at Queen’s: Languages, Literatures, Film, and History.

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The Graduate School for Social Research (GSSR) of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology

www.gssr.edu.pl

The Graduate for Social Research (Szkola Nauk Społecznych) was created in 1992 at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology by a group of scholars, philosophers, sociologists, lawyers, economists, psychologists and political scientists from the Polish Academy of Sciences and other institutions of higher education, among them Professor Stefan Amsterdamski who served as its first Director. Currently the School offers a postgraduate programme validated by a leading British university, its own doctoral programme and collaborative programmes, and is about to launch a post-doctoral programme. All of these programmes are interdisciplinary, with a strong international component and developing strong links between research and education.

The teaching activity of the Graduate School for Social Research takes place in some fifty seminars and lecture courses, the great majority of which are offered in English. They are attended by doctoral students and students of the School’s postgraduate programme.

The doctoral programme is a four-year interdisciplinary aimed at students who plan to defend doctoral theses in the social sciences and humanities. To date more than eight hundred alumni of the school have successfully completed the programme.

The School also offers a Dual PhD programme with Lancaster University, one of the UK’s top ten Universities and among the top one per cent in the world. Students following the programme spend up to eighteen months in the UK and receive the doctoral diplomas of both IFiS PAN and Lancaster University on successful defence of
their theses. Individual students have also benefited from *co-tutelle* arrangements with leading French institutions.

In addition the GSSR currently offers in its Centre for Social Studies a twelve-month postgraduate programme (two years part time) taught exclusively in English by guest lecturers from the USA Australia as well as Poland and other EU countries. The programme is offered in three tracks: *Society and Politics*, *Economy and Society*, *Media, Culture and Society*. Students successfully completing this programme are awarded the British degree of Master of Arts by Lancaster University. Currently in total some five hundred alumni have successfully completed the programme.

In any one year the School has students from fifteen to twenty countries and over the years more than double that number of countries have been represented in the student body. Of the one hundred and thirty four doctoral students currently enrolled half are non-Poles and two thirds of the twenty four students following the postgraduate programme were recruited from outside Poland.

The School’s international character is also underlined by its participation in student and faculty exchange under the auspices of the Erasmus, Fulbright and Visegrad programmes.

The GSSR has since its founding in 1992 been generously supported by the Open Society Institute’s Higher Education Support Programme (HESP). Overall, in recent years some ninety per cent of the School’s finances have been received from this source. The GSSR is also supported by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

In addition to the teaching activities described above the GSSR also participates in the interdisciplinary doctoral studies programme operated in conjunction with the Academy’s Institutes of Economics, Law and Psychology.

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